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Daily Report

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Third Round of Conventional Forces Talks Begin

Hungarian Envoy Address

*LD0510220989 Budapest MTI in English
1842 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Vienna, October 5 (MTI)—Contributing to the WTO [Warsaw Treaty Organization]-Nato talks in Vienna on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe, the representative of Hungary gave a favourable assessment to the proposals put forward recently by the sixteen NATO member states for exchange of information, verification, and stabilizing measures. At the Thursday plenary session, Istvan Gyarmati, deputy head of the Hungarian delegation, called upon the delegations to make the NATO proposals even more comprehensive.

CSSR Envoy Speaks

*AU2410135389 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 20 Oct 89 p 6*

[CTK report: "The Will To Reach An Agreement Exists"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—The third round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe came to an end on Thursday [19 October] in Vienna. Ladislav Balcar, head of the CSSR delegation, said, among other things, at the final plenary session that the political will exists for drafting an agreement during the course of next year. However, he pointed out that the pace of the talks, from the point of view of the concrete results achieved, does not provide a guarantee that the task outlined at the highest level will be fulfilled in time.

It is a fact, said the Czechoslovak ambassador in his speech, that we have managed to agree on a definition for artillery, that, due to a new proposal put forward by the Warsaw Pact countries, we have managed to reach an understanding as far as aircraft and helicopters are concerned, that we have managed to define our positions on further categories of weapons, and that we have managed to expand the scope for negotiations since proposals were submitted on both sides on the issues of information, control, and stabilization. It will be necessary to intensify discussion on the issues of aircraft, manpower, stockpiles, and regional division. The meeting at foreign minister level should contribute to this.

Ladislav Balcar expressed his support for the proposals for an exchange of information on control and stabilizing measures, proposals which were submitted on behalf of

the Warsaw Pact by Oleg Grinevskiy, the Soviet ambassador, at Thursday's forum. He added that in its essence the proposal demonstrates that its coauthors, just like the authors of the appropriate NATO proposal, have absolutely and unequivocally proceeded from the premise that a reduction in conventional armed forces is impossible without corresponding measures in the information and control spheres.

As far as stabilization measures are concerned, stated the head of the CSSR delegation further, we consider them to be a necessary element of the future agreement, an instrument for increased openness, for the predictability of military activity, and as an instrument which limits the possibilities of taking steps that would be at variance with the spirit and letter of the agreement. [passage omitted]

Talks End

*LD2010184989 Prague CTK in English
1426 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] Vienna Oct 20 (CTK correspondent)—The third round of talks between representatives of 35 CSCE participating states ended here today.

Also the third round of negotiations between 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries on conventional armed forces in Europe ended in Hofburg yesterday.

Head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the two disarmament forums Ladislav Balcar said in an interview for CTK that the political will of all states participating to arrive at an agreement on cuts in conventional armed forces is reflected in their readiness to conclude an agreement as early as in 1990.

The Warsaw Treaty countries have submitted two documents—a proposal for exchanges of information and control measures and a proposal for a stabilization measure. The Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries have also submitted proposals for cuts in tactical air force military planes and combat helicopters, for definitions of tanks, armoured vehicles, combat planes, combat helicopters and artillery, Balcar said.

He went on to say that the talks were slowed down in this round as some delegations have not yet taken such a realistic stance which would give a go-ahead to more dynamism in the principal issues.

Unless obvious progress is reached in these issues in the fourth round of the talks, a Soviet proposal for calling a meeting of foreign ministers of the participating countries will be more topical.

Tirana Balkan Understanding Meeting To Be Held

*AU1510144389 Tirana ATA in English
0820 GMT 15 Oct 89*

[Text] Tirana, October 15 (ATA)—Upon the initiative of the Albanian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, in compliance with the recommendation of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, the meeting of the committees on the Balkan understanding and cooperation and other similar non-government organizations will be held in Tirana on October 18-19.

The meeting will be attended by delegations from the Bulgarian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation; the Greek Committee on Detente and World Peace (EEDYE); the Movement for National Independence, Peace, and World Disarmament (KEADEA); and the Independent Movement on Peace (AKE) of Greece; from the Romanian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation; the Yugoslav League on Peace, Independence, and Equality Among Peoples; the Institute of Foreign Policy of Turkey; and the Albanian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation.

It is envisaged that views will be exchanged at the meeting on the activity of the participating organizations, contacts and cooperation between them to contribute to the strengthening of the spirit of good neighbourliness, confidence, understanding, peace, and security in the region, as well as to create a sound atmosphere in the relations between the peoples and countries of the Balkans.

Likewise, the attention will be focused on the problems of intensifying the cultural contacts and the mutual acquaintance of the historic and artistic values between the peoples of the region, cooperation of these organizations for the protection of the environment, as well as on the other questions related to the multilateral and bilateral relations and the strengthening of mutual confidence in the region.

East Europe 'Restoration of Capitalism' Condemned

*AU1710085889 Tirana ZERI / POPULLIT
in Albanian 11 Oct 89 p 4*

[Arben Karapici article: "Fruit of the Ideology of Counterrevolutionary Reformism"]

[Text] The wave of counterrevolutionary reform that has enveloped the Soviet Union and other Eastern countries recently culminated in Hungary with the creation of the Hungarian Socialist Party on the model of the social democratic parties of the Western bourgeoisie. This event marks the logical end of the thorough anticommunist process that has been taking place for almost 3 decades within the bosom of the Hungarian party, and which was fully approved at a recent congress. The statement of the party chairman Rezso Nyers, "The party's historical role is over, and we need a new-style social party," expressed the

party's official conversion into a battalion of the counter-revolution. Nyers remarked that the party should leave ideology up to the individual and should try to attract to its ranks all social groups, including entrepreneurs. Imre Pozsgay, one of the members of the reformist leadership, came out in favor of rejecting a party which he called "a monster and a conglomerate that has operated in Hungary not like a party, but like a state." Janos Barabas, the secretary for ideology, meanwhile stressed that the new party is based on the same model as social democratic parties in the West.

The Hungarian party's descent into this mire has followed its thorough trouncing in four rounds of regional parliamentary elections held in the country in recent months. The hemorrhage of members from its ranks, with almost 10,000 members leaving every month during the last year, also testifies to the state of total crisis that has engulfed the party. Under these circumstances, the party is not expected to win more than 30 percent of the votes in the multiparty national elections to be held in 1990. A pluralist system has been practiced in Hungary since the beginning of this year, when many opposition forces openly appeared on the political stage, organized in separate political parties. These include the "Popular Democratic Forum," which obtained more than three times more votes than the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in the regional parliamentary elections, the "Reform League," the "Independent Smallholders Party," the "Alliance of Free Democrats," and other anticommunist conglomerates. The reborn "Social Democratic Party" has been especially active in its activity within the country and abroad, and has sought membership of the Socialist International.

As far as the program of the new Hungarian Socialist Party is concerned, it must be said that it is a program of pledges to carry through to the end a thorough transformation of Hungarian society on capitalist lines. The "radical reforms" to introduce a pluralist political system and a Western-style market economy themselves testify to this. In this context, the congress called for "free elections" as a precondition for removing the party from power in favor of other political forces. The approved program explicitly states that "private property is a necessary motivating force for the development of the economy." The congress also approved a new party statute and a number of documents announcing the official rehabilitation of reform and everything counterrevolutionary in Hungary's economic and political life. The reference in the congress's documents to capitalist reforms and perestroika in the Soviet Union, from where Hungarian antisocialist political forces take their bearings, were particularly significant. "The Soviet Union, our most important ally and partner," it was said at the congress, "is itself committed to the implementation of radical reforms. This common ground constitutes the basis for relations between our two countries."

It has meanwhile been reported that the congress has decided that 23 October, the day of the start of the Hungarian counterrevolution in 1956, should be

declared a "national memorial day," and that counter-revolutionaries sentenced by people's courts, but now rehabilitated and considered "victims," should be paid "suitable compensation."

In connection with next year's elections, in which all the country's political parties will take part, the congress stated that "they will be completely free and their conclusions will be accepted." Following the law giving official status to opposition parties, there will also be discussions on a new Western-style constitution and a new office of executive president of the republic.

The Hungarian political parties have even offered the deposed monarchist forces of the Habsburg dynasty the chance to enjoy this post of president. The chairman of the National Assembly himself, Matyas Szuros, stated to REUTERS news agency that "There is no legal obstacle to Otto von Habsburg, the last prince of Hungary, becoming a presidential candidate."

It must be said that bourgeois anticommunist propaganda is trumpeting these retrograde developments in Hungary's political and economic life of Hungary, as in Poland and other Eastern countries, as the failure of communism and socialism. The true aim of these efforts, which are as miserable as they are pathetic, is in fact to hide to some extent at least the crisis of the oppressive and exploitative capitalist system itself. Both capitalism, as restored in these countries, and the reformist and counterrevolutionary political ideology, are undergoing a crisis of a kind which testifies not to a historic defeat for socialism, but for revisionism. These are the results of the revisionist course, which were predicted a long time ago by the Albanian Workers Party, whose farsighted teachings are now standing the test of time. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the Eighth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Plenum, the correctness of this profound judgment of our party "is now being demonstrated by the general crisis which has enveloped the Soviet Union, not to mention Hungary or Poland, countries that are not only plunged into debt and are experiencing many economic, social, and political difficulties, but who are even surrendering power after 45 years to the most anticommunist forces." What is happening in Hungary is that the modern revisionists who adopted the anti-Marxist course are handing over the party to the most right-wing and reactionary forces, who are now frankly announcing the total restoration of capitalism.

Food Industry Minister Bardhi Leaves for Romania

AU1510200289 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Jovan Bardhi, food industry minister, left for Romania today in order to attend the Bucharest Trade Fair at the invitation of Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

He was seen off at Rinas Airport by Ismail Ahmeti, minister of construction; Kostandin Hoxha, deputy minister of foreign trade; and others. Gheorghe Pop, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

Cultural, Scientific Agreement Signed With France

AU1610203089 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] The program of cultural, scientific, and technological exchange between Albania and France for 1990-1991 was signed in Paris today. The agreement was signed for the Albanian side by Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, and for the French side by (?Gabriel de Belsivier) deputy director general for cultural, scientific, and technological relations at the French Foreign Ministry.

The program provides for exchanges between our two countries in the fields of education, science, technology, information technology, and sports and for various cultural and artistic events.

Portuguese Communist Delegation Received by Cami

AU1510145889 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Eduardo Pires, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Reconstructed Communist Party of Portugal visited Albania recently at the invitation of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee.

Comrade Feto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, received Comrade Eduardo Pires and conducted talks with him on matters of common interest. The talks took place in a warm atmosphere of friendship, internationalist solidarity, and fraternal cooperation. The talks were attended by Comrade Agim Popa, director of the Foreign Directorate attached to the AWP Central Committee.

Malile Receives Palestinian Ambassador

AU1510145689 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Ali Kurdi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the State of Palestine to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in connection with the imminent presentation of credentials to Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Alia Speaks in Iballe, Puke District*AU0910132389 Tirana ATA in English
0951 GMT 9 Oct 89*

[“The Culture of Living Should Respond to the Material Level—From the Speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia in Iballe Region, Puke District”—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, October 9 (ATA)—In the context of the visits to the district of Puke, on October 8 before noon Ramiz Alia went to the mountainous region of Iballe, where he was welcomed with enthusiasm and boundless love by the highlanders. A warm meeting was organized in the center of the agricultural cooperative with cooperativists and cadres. After congratulating for the successes achieved, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in this meeting that the agricultural cooperative of Iballe and the nearby economies are one of the most populated and advanced zones in Puke District. The people are linked with the soil, birthplace. In this territory the agriculture and mines, geology and sawmills, schools and culture have developed in an harmonious way.

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out on some economic problems of this zone. Then he said:

Over the days of my stay in Tropoje and here in Puke I saw an indescribable enthusiasm of the people. This enthusiasm for the party brought the people into light. The party led the people with bravery and wisdom to win national freedom, it conceived the ideas on and realised radical transformations. These material and spiritual transformations emancipated the society in general.

The party overthrew the social system of the past, the power of bajraktars [tribal headmen], rich classes, who exploited the masses. It created conditions for the people to become master of their destinies, to march freely and resolutely on the road to socialism.

The emancipation of the man is a great victory of the party. In particular Puke in its past and the present, especially the woman of Puke in her history and the present, are a brilliant illustration of that real revolutionary overthrow that has taken place in the world of man, in his mentality.

Through her position as a citizen and fighter, the woman, and that of Puke in particular, shows what

heights the society has reached on the road of emancipation. She has become a colossal force in the socialist construction.

When the woman takes these heights, all the society has sound foundations. The developed woman is a guarantee for the future, to preserve and cultivate the national values.

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out the progress the mountain zones have made in the field of education, culture, and the way of living. In the zone of Iballe, he said, two-thirds of the houses of peasants are anew.

This zone is distinguished for the education-loving traditions. The first Albanian school of the district was opened here since 1903. Today there are six 8-form schools in its highlands. Seventy-five percent of the pupils graduating from these schools directly attend the middle education, mainly agricultural ones. Giving priority to industry, we have not demanded its forced development. Likewise, we have implemented such a socio-class policy which has guaranteed the elevation of the well-being of the peasantry, alongside the increase of the countryside's contribution to the socialist accumulation.

The fact that the population in the countryside does not abandon it is one of the achievements of the economic policy of the party, our social order.

For us the non-abandonment, but the permanent population of the countryside, is an expression of civilisation. Our road of the narrowing of the countryside-city distinctions is the urbanization of the rural areas, as the reality we are witnessing in Iballe testifies.

The countryside with us is populated because its well-being is guaranteed. It is something joyful that the real incomes of the Iballe highlands, including even those coming from industry, are high, even higher than many zones of the country. But the material possibilities for a richer, more cultured, more diversified living exist. This is a field we must march forward more speedily.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke on the problem of introducing more industrial activities in the countryside, as a way to augment the incomes, mainly in agriculture.

I rejoiced a great deal to meet with you, Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized. When the people rejoice, the party the whole Albania too rejoice [as received]. Here in Iballe, just like in the whole district of Puke and in the entire Albania, there is a brave people linked like flesh to bone with the party.

Zhivkov Addresses U.S.-Bulgarian Trade Council

AU2410140289 Sofia BTA in English
1328 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 24 (BTA)—The third session of the Bulgaro-American Trade-Economic Council started here today. It is attended by almost a hundred representatives of U.S. companies, banks and firms who will search for new opportunities for activation of the trade and economic cooperation together with their partners from Bulgaria.

In his greetings address to the participants in the meeting Bulgarian State Council President, Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out the great significance which Bulgaria attaches to this forum as one of the most important events in the entire context of the relations between Bulgaria and the United States. He confirmed Bulgaria's desire to develop normal, active economic and trade relations with the United States which correspond to the requirements of the new stage in the relations between the states.

The president of the State Council acquainted the guests with the new processes of restructuring of the Bulgarian economy which create favourable preconditions for bilateral cooperation. He dwelled in detail on the building of the company organization in national economy. He also stressed the favourable conditions for the activity of foreign and joint companies in this country. As an important factor for the development of economy on the road of innovation he emphasised the import and export of capital, the broadening of the trade exchange, the application of new forms of economic cooperation.

Mr Todor Zhivkov paid special attention to the active role of Bulgaria in the CSCE process. He pointed out that Bulgaria was one of the first countries which undertook concrete steps responding to the recommendations adopted by the countries at the Vienna meeting. The changes in our legislation guarantee the right of every Bulgarian citizen to travel freely abroad. He pointed out also the great efforts made in this country for the preservation and reproduction of the environment. A recognition for these efforts is also the fact that the Bulgarian capital was chosen to host the European ecological meeting.

Zhivkov Greets GDR's Krenz on Election

AU2410210889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
2000 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov has sent a telegram to Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, in which he congratulates him most cordially on behalf of the State Council and in his own name on his election as chairman of the GDR State Council.

Confidence is voiced that, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the GDR people will continue to confidently build and renew socialist society in their country.

GDR Situation After SED Plenum Analyzed

AU2410122889 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 20 Oct 89 p 5

[Vladimir Rupov article: "Course Toward Reform and Dialogue With Entire Society"]

[Text] Today the sociopolitical situation in the GDR is complex. Tension exacerbated already at the end of the summer, when thousands of citizens preferred the road to the FRG embassies in Hungary, Poland, and the CSSR, instead of returning home. Tension was intensified by the propaganda avalanche of the FRG mass media, which day after day, in a purposeful manner, influenced the negative emotions of a part of the GDR citizens.

The pictures shown by the FRG television stations presented something close to a mass psychosis—they repeatedly carried reports about the same mixed-up people who stormed the FRG Embassies in Budapest, Prague, and Warsaw. Tension also was intensified by the question that was posed ad nauseum—will there be a "humane solution" that will open the road to the FRG.

Afterward the columns of people moved, and new ones followed. More than 50,000 people have left the GDR since mid-August, and more than 100,000 since the beginning of the year. The same mood prevails among many people in the country. Hordes of demonstrators raised slogans demanding to be allowed to leave the motherland. This resulted in clashes between the demonstrators and the security organs. Again the FRG television cameras filmed the "unrestrained" behavior of the law and order officials. There were no films showing the brutal provocations of the demonstrators toward the police organs. Unfortunately, such films were not shown also by the GDR television. The assessment of the character of those mass events, the participants in the hooligan excesses, and the informal groups that emerged, was rather unconvincing. Yes, nobody can deny the destabilization goals of Western propaganda.

According to a foreign script the holiday of the GDR's 40th anniversary had to be overshadowed, uncertainty in the country's future was to be created, and lack of confidence in the Socialist Party of Germany (SED)—the country's leading force—was to be asserted. One cannot deny that this campaign was successful to a certain degree. However, to fully accuse Western propaganda and place all those who demonstrated in the streets or left the country under the same common denominator would eliminate the possibility of objectively analyzing the causes of this complex situation.

The power of a certain party depends to a large degree on its ability to quickly react to changes in the situation, and form clear plans about the future. The SED proved that it has such power. The declaration of the SED Central Committee Politburo of 11 October pointed out the

basic trends of reaching the main goal—further constructing and strengthening socialism in the GDR. In addition the SED called for an open, critical, and honest dialogue with all citizens.

The dialogue began. Timidly at the beginning, it later became more dynamic and sharply critical. Workers, writers, scientists, leaders, representatives of various parties in the GDR, and religious figures are talking. What is most important—they are talking to each other. Demonstrations took place in various cities, and they did not violate the public order. The participants did not raise slogans against the government, but chanted: "We are staying here," and called for reforms and for the sociopolitical situation to be improved.

The SED Central Committee plenum, which took place on Wednesday confirmed that the party is ready to react to the challenge of the time. The 11 October statement is the beginning of the new course that the SED is beginning, and which is aimed at changes, restructuring, glasnost, and reforms. Egon Krenz, the newly elected general secretary of the SED Central Committee, read on television the report that was read and approved at the SED Central Committee plenum. Essentially, this was an appeal to the entire GDR people. The report was also a profound critical and self-critical analysis of the situation that has emerged and outlines ever brighter prospects for future work. This work will be comprehensive and difficult. However, there are no magic means or ready-made recipes for reforming the economy and renewing socioeconomic life. Unsubstantiated promises are dangerous now. This was the conclusion drawn by Egon Krenz. Urgent measures and long-range changes will be necessary. The objective difficulties that prevent the implementation of the people's wishes will be analyzed openly.

The GDR is heading along a new course of reforms and dialogue with the entire society. However, as the general secretary of the SED Central Committee said, all attempts and advice to reform the GDR back to capitalism are doomed to fail. It is the GDR alone that will decide what reforms will be conducted and how they will be implemented.

A new plenum of the SED Central Committee will take place shortly. It will further specify the directions of the preparations for the 12th SED Congress. All GDR citizens are called upon to participate in the broad discussion related to further constructing the socialist society in the GDR. The participation of all people is a guarantee of success and a reason for hope and optimism.

'Rattling of Sabers' Seen in Turkish Maneuvers

AU2410120389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 23 Oct 89 p 3

[Detelin Vulkov Commentary: "Turkey—In Maneuvers As ... In War"]

[Text] The "Mekhmetchik-89" maneuvers of Turkey's national Armed Forces were conducted as a part of the "Display Determination—89" maneuvers of NATO's forces fall maneuvers on Turkish territory. This by itself is not puzzling—every national army must conduct maneuvers, in which personnel act under conditions close to combat conditions in order to maintain their combat readiness. In addition, every country has the right to determine the location of its military maneuvers.

However, we, as neighbors of the Republic of Turkey, also have the right to note where and how the biggest maneuvers of the Turkish Army took place this year. They took place in the European region of Turkey and in the vicinity of the Sea of Marmora and the southwestern part of the Black Sea, i.e. in immediate proximity to our borders. One also must not ignore the fact that the character of the maneuvers was related not so much to repelling an attack of the "enemy" as to developing a subsequent attack. Even a layman understands what this version of the maneuvers means.

One is also impressed by the amount of personnel and combat equipment that took part in the maneuvers—18,000 soldiers and officers, 370 tanks, more than 70 field artillery guns, and almost 100 aircraft and helicopters. Obviously, these were offensive rather than defensive weapons. And all this on a relatively small territory that does not permit a significant deployment of troops, but could serve as a suitable base for an attack.

It is true that at present tension exists in diplomatic relations between our countries, despite the fact that we have never sought such tension and have always sought ways of normalizing our relations. However, it is even more correct to say that precisely at such moments sanity must prevail over the rattling of sabers. How could one believe the Turkish diplomats that Ankara is ready to conduct a political dialogue when the helmets of the soldiers participating in the maneuvers shine behind the backs of the diplomats, and when the maneuvers of the Turkish Army so provocatively imitate a "war against an enemy from the north"?

Despite the requirements of the modern political time, the aggressive operations are the foundation of the Turkish military doctrine.

Relations With Cuba Viewed on Anniversary

AU2410130389 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 20 Oct 89 p 5

[Svoboda Tosheva article: "Eighty Bulgarian Projects on Cuban Territory"]

[Excerpt] Some 29 years, or almost three decades have passed since the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Cuba established diplomatic relations. During that period the countries maintained active political, economic, and cultural relations, based on the principles of socialist internationalism, fraternal assistance, and mutual understanding. Cooperation and

unity of thought on important issues of international relations and in anything related to the trends of developing the world revolutionary process also form the basis of friendly relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Cuba. Bulgaria highly values the positive role Cuba plays in Central America, the Caribbean, and the Nonaligned Movement. On the other hand, Bulgaria and Cuba, as active CEMA members, are actively striving to participate in the socialist economic integration and contribute to further developing socialism and strengthening cooperation among the socialist countries.

Now Bulgarian-Cuban relations are developing in a broad spectrum of spheres —economy, politics, education, culture, tourism, and so forth. The visits of the two countries' first leaders especially contributed to the comprehensive development of bilateral relations. Such were the visits of Todor Zhivkov to Cuba in 1970, 1975, and 1979, and the visits of Fidel Castro to Bulgaria in 1972 and 1976. Relations of cooperation exist between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Cuba, as well as between various public organizations and unions.

In recent years the trade exchange between the two countries has surpassed 300 million convertible rubles. Machines and equipment have a priority in Bulgarian exports to Cuba and represent 40 percent of this export. In addition we export to Cuba various kinds of metal-cutting machines, car batteries, refrigeration compressors, and so forth. Bulgaria imports from Cuba many important agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs.

Economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Cuba encompasses important branches and spheres—industry, agriculture, hydraulic construction, water supply, urban planning, road construction, and so forth. More than 80 projects have been constructed in Cuba with Bulgarian participation. Among them—the agrarian machines-producing plant in Holguin, the irrigation equipment-producing plant in Cienfuegos, ice-producing factories, and so forth. The participation of a Bulgarian brigade in the construction of the nuclear electric power plant in Cienfuegos, and a Cuban brigade in the construction of the second nuclear reactor in Kozloduy were an expression of friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

In order to elevate cooperation to a qualitatively higher and new stage in 1986 in Moscow the first leaders of the two countries signed a Program on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation and Socialist Integration Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Cuba Until the Year 2000. In accordance with this program now the two countries are applying in practice new forms of economic and scientific-technical relations, giving special attention to specialization and production sharing in important branches of the two countries' economies. [passage omitted]

Retired Greek Generals Visit, Exchange Views

AU0710184989 Sofia BTA in English
1708 GMT 7 Oct 89

["For Strengthening of Balkan Understanding"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—At the invitation of the National Committee for European Security and Cooperation the Greek generals in the reserve Yieryios Komanakou, Rikhardhos Kapellos and Kostas Konstandinidis paid a visit to this country. They met with Bulgarian generals in the reserve.

The participants in the meeting, who are members of the group "Generals for Peace and Disarmament," concluded that there are favourable conditions for strengthening of Balkan understanding as a result of the new political thinking.

The generals and admirals render particular significance to the seeking of various means and forms of political, economic and cultural character for the expansion of friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian and the Greek people.

The generals unanimously condemned the present policy of Turkey's leading circles as regards the two countries and Cyprus. Such a policy does not contribute to the strengthening of a favourable climate in this region.

Defector Criticized for Visit as Journalist

AU2010183489

[Editorial report] Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian No. 42, 19 October 1989, carries on page 5 a 600-word "open letter" from writer Damyan P. Damyanov to Romyana Uzunova, a former Bulgarian journalist, emigre, and currently employed in the Bulgarian section of Radio Free Europe (RFE), who is a delegate to the European ecological forum in Sofia.

The letter is addressed to "Mrs Romyana Uzunova—Ecoforum Sofia" although the author admits having been on first-name basis with Uzunova before she defected to the West. Damyanov expresses his indignation that "under the cover of her official visa and prompted by her unofficial, but understandable insolence," Uzunova even dared to visit the writers' cafe in Sofia and shake hands with most of the guests. He assures that had he been there he would have "spit in her face."

Damyanov further points out that on the occasion of the "unfortunate episode" with the "unfortunate Petur Manolov" [writer and leading figure of the recently discussed unofficial Bulgarian human rights committee], "I was told that you mentioned my name among those who voiced their support for Manolov, and I do not deny that I did this, prompted by compassion." He explains that he subsequently regretted his "naivete" because Manolov proved to be a conceited and selfish "scoundrel." Damyanov also accuses Uzunova of vanity and

greed for money, which induced her to become a traitor to her country. He adds how unfortunate it is that "through the incomprehensible channels of diplomacy and its obligatory politeness" such people should reach the ecoforum.

Damyanov finally dedicates a poem to Uzunova which is full of invectives against her character and her "treacherous" activities at RFE.

Criticism Continues

AU2310200989

[Editorial report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 21-22 October and VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian on 20-21 October reprint and comment on the "open letter" by Damyan Damyanov to Radio Free Europe (RFE) employee Rumyna Uzunova, who is attending the international Ecoforum in Sofia, published in LITERATURE FRONT No. 42 on 19 October.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 21 October on page 2, in addition to a reprint of Damyanov's letter, carries a 400-word reader's letter, signed by Stoycho Shapatov "from Purvomay," entitled "A Tremendous Lie." The author expresses his indignation at the presence of a notorious RFE "traitor" in Bulgaria. Shapatov describes Uzunova and her colleague Vladimir Kostov [former BTA correspondent in Paris who defected several years ago] as particularly vicious "slanderers" of their country, who in their broadcasts are trying "to insinuate that Bulgarian Muslims are now subjected to unspeakable suffering caused by ... the Communists, of course."

Shapatov ironically suggests that he would not be surprised to hear one day the following appeal from RFE: "Bulgarian brothers, overthrow this government! We are ready to defend all of you until the last of you has perished! As for the survivors, we, the clever ones, shall come to teach you common sense!" The author closes by listing the virtues of "true Bulgarian patriots," who, unlike the "traitors," "devote all of their efforts to the Bulgarian people's unity, to the success of restructuring which is underway, and to their own people's well-being."

VECHERNI NOVINI on 20-21 October carries on page 3 a reprint of Damyanov's letter, followed by a 50-word editorial note, explaining that the letter in question is reprinted from LITERATURE FRONT "at our readers' request" and that along with consenting that his letter should be published, Damyanov sent a 200-word "Post Scriptum" (published in full text on the same page) in which he expresses gratitude for public support for his letter to Uzunova, but complains about people who "disagreed" with this support, and "even had their picture taken with Rumyna Uzunova in the writers' cafe." Damyanov adds that he was slandered and insulted by such people and even received a threatening telephone call by an individual, introducing himself as "Shtilyan Krustev, who lived in the FRG for 8 years," and who said, according to Damyanov: "If I see you, I will tear your head off!" Damyanov stresses that he is not

afraid of threats. "Although I expected such actions, I expressed my honest and sincere indignation at the presence of a defamer of Bulgarians in Bulgaria. Such incoherent reactions confirm my conviction that my protest was justified."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 22 October on page 2 carries the following two reactions to Damyanov's letter published in LITERATURE FRONT:

A 400-word letter by Dimitur Spasov, candidate of pedagogical sciences from Sandanski, entitled "I Strongly Shake Your Hand, Dear Damyan," expresses sympathy for Damyanov and asks the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board to indicate ways and means "that we, the friends and readers of Damyanov's poetry, could support his lofty intellectual positions, so that the vultures who have betrayed their motherland may stop nagging at him." Spasov further elaborates on his admiration for Damyanov's literary and patriotic feelings and, speaking on behalf of his fellow citizens, closes with the following passage: "The traitors of the motherland may insult us on the telephone and they may wait for us in ambush behind the next corner, but they cannot persuade us to act like them."

A 500-word letter by Evstati Burnaski, addressed to "A Nameless Lady," namely to Rumyna Uzunova, ironically asks her why she is not afraid of visiting this country, "the country of Stalinist despotism, where human rights are banned," adding that he does not wish to address her by her Bulgarian name, since she does not deserve it. Mentioning the writers whom Uzunova has interviewed "by telephone" from Munich, Burnaski admits that some of them are "perfectly decent writers, whom I respect," and whom "no one tries to interfere with, or to reprimand." Nevertheless, the author adds: "They are paying for cheap popularity with the price of moral values." Burnaski admits that people in Bulgaria are confronted with endless "political, social, and moral problems" and that "for some of them we should blame ourselves, while others are imported from the outside!" He also states: "No one applauds the national division which was provoked by the slanderers abroad and by our own mistakes, but we are openly talking about it."

Referring to Uzunova and the other "traitors" from RFE, Burnaski stresses that "we, in Bulgaria, are trying to keep our land clean from ecological and moral pollution," but "a polluted soul can never be cleaned." He points out: "It is fashionable, and I would even say urgently necessary, to discuss human rights today. With outrageous consistency you are also discussing this subject, but is there a charter that claims to include a clause on the right to treason? No such charter and no such clause could ever exist!"

Burnaski's "letter" ends with an ironical salutation in German: "Farewell, dear madam!"

Dissident Defends Himself in 'Perverved Manner'

AU2410104989 Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 20 Oct 89 p 4

[Aleksi Krustev article: "A Game To Deceive Innocents"]

[Excerpts] Has anyone ever heard of a defendant urging the court to convict him, so that he may serve a prison sentence, and when asked to explain his actions, repeatedly claiming that they were dictated by his strong desire to stand trial? [passage omitted]

The defendant Konstantin Borisov Ivanov is one of those people who is fighting for his honor to be a Bulgarian citizen in a perverted manner, by denying everything that the people's government has accomplished and by taking advantage of isolated mistakes and shortcomings in our development in order to reject the government and disregard the law. Along with this, he is loudly declaring his alleged support for restructuring and for changes "in all places and all things." In doing so he has memorized and can recite entire passages from statements of Bulgarian, Soviet, and other party and state leaders, and cites statistical data, but in a context that serves his own purposes. [passage omitted]

The defendant has no legal assistance. He refused to accept the appointment of an official counsel for the defense. He defended himself. He personally cross-examined the witnesses and loudly expressed his opinions on their evidence. He finally pronounced his own speech for the defense.

It is justified to point out for the sake of truth that the defendant duly impressed the audience in the crowded hall of the Mikhaylovgrad Municipal Court. Many of his "followers," leaders and members of some self-appointed "independent committees for the protection of human rights" from Mikhaylovgrad, Mezdra, Sofia, Plovdiv, and other cities were among those present. They eagerly wrote down each of his words in their notebooks. Employees and workers of the Mikhaylovgrad Battery Plant (which is now integrated in the PIMA Company [extension not known]—and where the defendant worked until recently) also came to watch. In addition to them, the audience consisted of numerous curious citizens who had come to look for entertainment. I would just like to ask—how come that Ivanov's followers failed to attend another recent trial in this same hall in which the defendant's wife was involved on the grounds of her immoral behavior, since they are now sending reports to Radio Free Europe in which she is glorified as a saint.

Konstantin Ivanov possesses his own, specific rhetoric which is, however, identical with the most malicious commentaries of the notorious foreign radio stations, which could hardly be described as well-wishers of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people. [passage omitted]

Naturally, it was not for this reason that Konstantin Ivanov was sentenced to 1 year in prison. Our jurisdiction has one sacred principle, according to which man's thoughts, his inner ideas and convictions are not subject to trial. Legal prosecution applies only to man's actual deeds through which he has violated the law.

Eyewitnesses report that Konstantin Ivanov frequently organized improvised gatherings of curious pedestrians in the vicinity of some newspaper stalls and delivered speeches in the aforementioned spirit. He is also reported to have distributed leaflets composed by him in which he pointed out that the "independent human rights committee" is in favor of real restructuring and "true democracy," and so forth. I was told that the state and public organs repeatedly talked to him and advised him to refrain from such activities, since he is not entitled to take the rostrum on behalf of some practically nonexistent organization. However, when he put up posters with anti-state slogans in the plant in which he was working and proceeded with overt agitation trying to spread unrest among the workers and divert their attention from their professional tasks, he simply acted against the Penal Code. We should not forget to mention the insults with which he addressed the managers of the plant, which is also subject to punishment. This was an unmistakable encroachment against the penal code, and this is how Konstantin Ivanov was brought to trial.

A few more details should be added: Has anyone authorized Konstantin Ivanov, who describes himself as a member of an informal "legal defense association," to slander and insult official organs, organizations, leaders, and ordinary citizens, even our entire socialist society? Has anyone granted him the right to place himself above the law and to violate its norms? How can a man, whose spouse has grossly violated the moral code of society, plead for restructuring according to his own model?

Jokingly I asked myself what would have happened if I had been the judge and had acquitted Konstantin Ivanov? I would liked to have seen the expression on his face and his reaction in hearing that he would not be going to prison. This would have meant the failure of his cunningly constructed intrigue. However, the law is the law and it should be applied as long as it exists. No one should make fun of the Law, otherwise it could not play its role in protecting the interest of the state, of society, and of the individual against any moral and personal encroachments.

Politburo Wants To Create Public Opinion Center

AU2310164489 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] The Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee has adopted a decision on the qualitative improvement of public opinion research and its application [izpolvane] under the conditions of restructuring.

The decision points out that the implementation of the policy aimed at restructuring society is accompanied by a strong intensification and a broad expression of public opinion among all strata of the people. Along with this, the intensification of expressing public opinion has acquired a great constructive force and is becoming a primary factor in the development of the processes of renewal.

The Politburo recommends to the National Assembly and the Academy of Sciences to establish a national center for public opinion research. It is recommended that the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, the editorial boards of newspapers and journals, and the Radio and Television Committee, adopt measures for a qualitative improvement of their work in connection with the analysis and propagation of public opinion.

In our upcoming news programs we will provide further details on the decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo on the qualitative improvement of public opinion research and its application under the conditions of restructuring.

Further on Resolution

*AU2310200089 Sofia BTA in English
1846 GMT 23 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] adopted a resolution on "a qualitative improvement of the studying and use of social opinion among all strata of the people." Concurrently, the activation and the broadly expressed social opinion acquires an immense creative force and becomes a priority factor for the development of the processes of renewal.

In compliance with this understanding and on the basis of the existing experience from the studying and use of social opinion the need was formed to build an all-round system for work in this sphere, which will differ with the flexible organizational structure, efficient mechanism of functioning, a wide range of the subjects and high scientific level of the surveys. The studying and use of

public opinion should turn into a steady characteristic of the style and methods of work of all party, state, economic and social bodies, into an important resource of the management and self-management of ideological work and education.

In view of that the task is set for the commissions and the departments of the party Central Committee, for the regional and municipal party committees, the Communists at leading positions in the state, public and economic bodies and organizations to provide systematic and profound studying of public opinion in the sphere of their activity, to use actively the results of the surveys, to be political warrants for raising to a qualitatively new the work with the notes, opinions and proposals of the working people. [sentence as received]

Politburo recommends that a national center for studying of the public opinion is founded at the National Assembly and at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Simultaneously with that, the studying of public opinion should be supported and encouraged with the forces of other research institutes and higher educational establishments, too.

It is recommended that the Union of the Bulgarian Journalists, the editorial boards of newspapers and magazines, the Committee for Television and Radio will take measures for a qualitative improvement of their work in relation with the survey and the expression of public opinion.

In the spirit of the party policy for the expansion of democracy and openness, the results of the surveys of the public opinion should be made known to the population and the major ones should be published by the mass media. The wide openness of the conclusions from the surveys should be considered as a condition for the increase of social activity of the people, for forming of competent and constructive public opinion, for raising the role of the human factor in the further fulfillment of restructuring.

Party Daily Views 'Problems' in GDR

AU2010133989 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 19 Oct 89 p 7

[Commentary by Vladimir Plesnik, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Berlin: "Time of Movement"]

[Text] The approximately 50-year-old foundry worker from Neubrandenburg became unusually agitated. He spoke about the impossibility, in his opinion, of bringing about renewal and of arriving at changes without a constructive and productive atmosphere.

I have two sons, aged 24 and 27, he confided to the reporter. We now argue about many things, deep into the night. They have forced me, in the good sense of the word, to look at the reality around us with somewhat different eyes—without the tendency to simplify things which is at the back of our minds, no matter how well-intentioned it may be. You can imagine that it hurt. My boys have taught me one thing. The complex problems of today should no longer be waved aside and dismissed with simple answers. These candid words from a man from the blast furnace, words which were rough on himself, were broadcast by GDR radio Wednesday [18 October] morning.

The GDR is experiencing a period which is extraordinary in a number of respects. It is a period of many unexpected dramas, of the emigration of citizens, and of unrest. This is but one side of the coin, however. It is all the more impossible to overlook the other side—the recent appeal of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo to tackle the problems that have come to a head and to look for ways out of them.

The problems of the further development of socialism in our country will be dealt with in businesslike dialogue and in mutual political interaction, the SED Central Committee Politburo statement stressed. In discussions in factories, agricultural and production cooperatives, universities, but—to a hitherto absolutely unusual extent—also in the information media, all those who are sincerely and selflessly concerned about the fate of the country and the party have been concurring with this statement. More than once, they have been calling attention to the standing of the first socialist state on German soil among the countries of the socialist community, on our continent, and in the world at large. However, they have presently been adding that one simply cannot live on traditions and past achievements alone.

Party organizations, individuals, representatives of the cultural front, and youth representatives have been speaking spontaneously. At times, they have been shouting one another down but, remarkably, they have still been speaking in one voice. We do not renounce everything we have achieved by our own efforts, they have been saying. However, so as not to stand still and not to become arrested in our development, we will have to approach a number of things in a completely different way. In the national economy, but in the superstructure

as well. In the party itself, it is necessary to revive its best traditions: creativity, a militant spirit, and thoughtfulness. German Communists have always been and still are the bearers of these traditions. They were broken neither by the manhunts organized against them by the followers of the swastika nor by the hardships in the first years of the republic, in a disrupted country with people who hung their heads. The issue now will be to make sure that these traditions obtain the widest possible scope so that everything beneficial which arises from them is put to use and imbues the everyday reality.

In the spirit of the strategic concept of continuity and renewal, the SED Central Committee Politburo has undertaken the commitment to submit the appropriate proposals to the party and all people.

GDR Refugees in Prague Embassy To Leave

AU2310190289 Mainz ZDF Television Network
in German 1800 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] The CSSR Government has confirmed that the about 100 GDR refugees in Bonn's embassy in Prague will be permitted to leave. The same regulation applies to them as to the now 2,000 GDR refugees in Warsaw, it was said. Another 120 refugees of those in the FRG Embassy in Warsaw will be taken to Duesseldorf by plane this evening. Between yesterday morning and this morning, 1,185 GDR citizens had arrived in the FRG via Hungary and Austria.

National Front Congratulates Hungary's Kulcsar

AU1910090889 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 17 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—The Presidium of the CSSR National Front Central Committee has sent a congratulatory telegram to Kalman Kulcsar, chairman of the National Council of the People's Patriotic Front [PPF] of the Hungarian People's Republic, on the occasion of the latter's election as chairman of the PPF National Council.

Days of Romanian Culture Open in Prague

AU2310202189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1925 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Prague (AGERPRES) 23/10/1989—The days of Romanian culture in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [SR] started in Prague on Monday, 23 October.

The inauguration was marked by a festivity that took place at the Waldstejn Palace and by a meeting with representatives of the Czechoslovak press, radio and television studios.

Reciprocal cultural presence occasioned by the days of culture, it was stressed in the addresses made on the occasion by Frantisek Jelinek, deputy minister of culture

of the Czech SR, and Viorica Neculau, deputy minister of education and instruction, have become traditional within the relations of close friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples. The exchanges of spiritual assets acquire new valences and significations with every passing year, contributing to a better mutual knowledge, to the strengthening of the Romanian-Czechoslovak friendship, the speakers stressed.

For five days the public in Prague, Bratislava, Brno, Zvolen and other Czechoslovak towns will see exhibitions of painting, sculpture, books and photographs, attend concerts, folk shows and film galas. Musical auditions will be arranged, films will be shown followed by discussions, meetings with cultural personalities of Romania and Czechoslovakia on theatrical art, contemporary literary and musical creation.

Fojtik, Kravchenko Discuss CTK-TASS Cooperation

*AU2410121089 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 21 Oct 89 p 2*

[Text] Prague (CTK)—In Prague on Friday [20 October], in the presence of CTK Central Director Otto Cmolik, Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, received Leonid Kravchenko, general director of the USSR News Agency.

In a cordial chat they viewed favorably the comprehensive nature of the cooperation between CTK and TASS, which significantly contributes to the dissemination of information about the life of the people of the two fraternal countries and the social restructuring under way in them. New possibilities and forms of the further intensification of the two news agencies' cooperation were discussed.

Soviet Failure To Meet Commitments Noted

AU2410141589

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 23 October on page 4 carries a 600-word article by Vladimir Jancura, the paper's Moscow correspondent, entitled "What Has Been Caused by the 'Warehouses on Wheels'?" The article, which is based on Soviet sources (PRAVDA, TASS), deals with the critical situation in Soviet ports and border railway stations where hundreds of trains carrying food and consumer goods are stuck and cannot be unloaded because of shortage of empty railroad cars. Jancura quotes, inter alia, an article by Moscow PRAVDA's Prague correspondent S. Vtorushin in the paper's 22 October issue, which deals with the "extraordinary situation" in the Cierna nad Tisou reloading railway station at the Czechoslovak-Soviet border. Vtorushin is quoted as having written that 50 trains carrying R400 million worth of consumer goods for Soviet consumers are stuck on the Czechoslovak side of the border, and an additional 500 railroad cars with similar cargo elsewhere in Czechoslovakia, and that "despite repeated requests [of the Czechoslovak side], the USSR Ministry of Railways

refuses to accept these trains." The Soviet correspondent is also said to have noted that "the disruptions in the work of Soviet railwaymen have caused serious problems in many large enterprises of Czechoslovak heavy industry. Since the beginning of this year, Czechoslovak steel mills did not get 500,000 tonnes of iron ore and contracts on the delivery of Soviet bituminous coal are not being fulfilled either."

Communique on PLO's 'Arafat Visit Published

*AU2410124889 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 20 Oct 89 p 7*

["Communique On Yasir 'Arafat's Visit To The CSSR"]

[Text] Prague—At the invitation of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and Gustav Husak, CSSR president, Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee and President of the State of Palestine, paid an official friendly visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on 18 and 19 October 1989.

Gustav Husak, CSSR president, received the most senior Palestinian representative. During their friendly meeting, both statesmen exchanged views on the development of Czechoslovak-Palestinian relations and on international issues. President Gustav Husak conferred the highest Czechoslovak honor—the Order of the White Lion, First Class, with chain—upon President Yasir 'Arafat in recognition of his tireless endeavor for a lasting and just solution to the conflict in the Middle East and for his accomplishments in the development of Czechoslovak-Palestinian friendship.

During his stay in Czechoslovakia, Yasir 'Arafat placed a wreath on the National Memorial in Zizkov and he honored the memory of Klement Gottwald with a bouquet of flowers. During his visit to Bratislava, he held a meeting with Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, and Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council. He also placed a wreath on the memorial to the Slovak National Uprising.

During the visit, Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat signed an agreement on future cooperation between the CSSR National Front Central Committee and the PLO Executive Committee.

Talks took place between Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat at which Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, Zbynek Zalman, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party and deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and Milan Kymlicka, Czech Socialist Republic minister of culture, participated on behalf of the Czechoslovak side. Abu Ajad, Mahmud Darvish, Mahmud Naufal,

Tajsir Kubba, and Bassam Abu Sharif, members of the PLO leadership, and Samih Abdal Fattah, State of Palestine ambassador to the CSSR, participated on behalf of the Palestinian side.

During the talks, which were conducted in a spirit of friendship and complete understanding, both sides considered the current state of Czechoslovak-Palestinian relations and expressed their satisfaction with their continuing development. They expressed their concurrent conviction that the declaration of the independent State of Palestine in November 1988 and its recognition by the Czechoslovak side establish favorable conditions for raising mutual contacts onto a new and higher level.

Milos Jakes briefed his Palestinian guest on fulfilling the program of restructuring the economic mechanism and the further intensification of socialist democracy outlined by the CPCZ. He underlined the fact that the main purpose of these processes is to strengthen and improve socialism in Czechoslovakia and to guarantee the comprehensive development of its people's standard of living.

Yasir 'Arafat acquainted the Czechoslovak representative with the current situation in the Palestinian resistance movement and with the most recent development in the Palestinian people's uprising in the occupied Palestinian territories. He underlined the Palestinians' firm resolve to continue in their just struggle until their inalienable rights have been fulfilled.

While exchanging views on the international situation, both senior representatives expressed their satisfaction at the positive changes associated with the gradual assertion of the new political thinking in global policy as well as their readiness to assist this process. They emphasized the necessity of further intensifying the policy of detente and of guaranteeing peace in the world, bringing the arms race to an end, suspending nuclear weapons tests and the militarization of space, the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, and radically reducing conventional armaments. Both sides hold the view that the resources freed by the reduction in military expenditure and disarmament should be transferred to economic and social development.

The Czechoslovak side briefed the Palestinian side on the current situation in Europe. It referred to the positive influence of the developing Helsinki process and the progress achieved at the Vienna disarmament talks which establish good prerequisites for strengthening peace in Europe and for building a common European home on the basis of mutual security and comprehensive and equal cooperation among all countries. The CSSR's contribution to achieving these aims is the proposal to establish a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states as well as its initiative for cooperation among the Central European states in dealing with ecological problems.

Yasir 'Arafat once again confirmed the PLO's support for these Czechoslovak initiatives which are aimed at the

preservation of peace, stability, and cooperation in Europe and in the world. He also referred to the great interest with which the PLO is following the process of restructuring being developed at present in the economic, social, and other spheres of life in Czechoslovakia. He expressed his conviction about the success of this process, led by the CPCZ, which will be to the benefit and well-being of the fraternal Czechoslovak people, and which will lead to the further strengthening of the CSSR's position in the world.

Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat also discussed the situation in the Middle East. They stated with satisfaction that the recent increased international efforts have led to a definite improvement in the political atmosphere in the region. However, specific results have so far not been achieved in light of Israel's inflexible and destructive stance, a stance which has the support of the U.S. Administration.

A just and lasting peace in the Middle East, as both sides emphasized, cannot be achieved to the detriment of some of the parties in the conflict but can only be achieved by respecting the principles of equal interests and mutual security, nations' rights to self-determination, and the free selection of their own development. A fundamental prerequisite for this is the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories that have been occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, and the recognition of the legal rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their homeland, and to the establishment of their own independent state as well as the recognition of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The CSSR highly appraised the PLO's balanced and realistic line which it embarked upon in harmony with the decisions made at the 19th session of the Palestinian National Council and it called upon Israel to adopt a similarly constructive approach. It confirmed its firm solidarity with the heroic Palestinian people and it condemned the Israeli occupation authorities' repression against the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Both sides consider an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all involved parties, including the PLO and the permanent members of the UN Security Council, to be the most suitable framework for a solution in the Middle East. They expressed their support for the accelerated commencement of concrete preparations for holding this conference, with use being made of United Nations mechanisms, the bilateral and multilateral contacts among the parties involved, as well as the applicable further steps, steps on which these parties will agree.

Yasir 'Arafat appraised CSSR efforts to achieve a lasting and comprehensive solution to the crisis in the Middle East and to the problem at its core—the Palestinian issue. At the same time, he appraised the common stance

adopted by the Warsaw Pact countries toward the Palestinian people's struggle, a stance expressed in the statement from its Political Consultative Committee Meeting in Bucharest.

Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat welcomed the cease-fire in Lebanon. They expressed their complete support for the efforts of the League of Arab States' tripartite committee which are aimed at national reconciliation and the preservation of the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Lebanese state.

They also welcomed the lowering of tension in the Gulf region as a consequence of the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war. Both sides regard making this peace a lasting one to be a primary task and, in this spirit, they confirmed their support for the Security Council resolution number 598 as well as for the UN Secretary General's mediation mission.

The talks between Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and they demonstrated a concurrence or closeness of views on the issues that were discussed. Both sides expressed their complete satisfaction at their course.

The most senior Palestinian representative expressed his sincere gratitude for the very cordial reception which he was given during the visit. He also expressed his gratitude for the assistance and solidarity provided by the CSSR for the Palestinian people's just struggle. He was given the assurance that the CSSR will continue to provide this support.

Officials Meet With Afghan Deputy Prime Minister

Deputy Premier Urban

*AU1610175389 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 14 Oct 89 p 2*

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier, received Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan, in Prague on Friday [13 October].

He valued the traditional relations between the two countries in the political and economic spheres. In that connection, he spoke about some topics aimed at the further intensification of mutual relations.

Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin provided information on the present political and economic situation in Afghanistan and on ways to resolve the existing problems. He underscored the positive results of the comprehensive cooperation between the Republic of Afghanistan and the CSSR in the past period, and took a stand on the possibilities of developing it in the future.

The talk was attended by Ladislav Vodrazka, CSSR deputy premier in charge of the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry, and—for the Afghan side—by Abdar Rahman Bassam

[spelling of name as published], candidate member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

Slovak Deputy Premier Lexa

*LD1410191789 Prague CTK in English
1826 GMT 14 Oct 89*

[Text] Bratislava Oct 14 (CTK)—Slovak deputy premier and chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific- Technological Development Vladimir Lexa received here today Afghan Deputy Premier Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin.

He pointed out good relations between the two countries in the political, economic and cultural spheres, and, as a representative of the Mixed Czechoslovak-Afghan Commission for Economic and Trade Cooperation due to meet in Prague in 1990, spoke of the necessity of further extension of mutual relations.

Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin informed Vladimir Lexa of the present political and economic situation in Afghanistan and of solving problems. He pointed out positive results of the two countries' cooperation, mainly in trade where Czechoslovak imports from Afghanistan grew much quicker than exports.

Hoffmann Receives CPC Delegation 17 Oct

*AU1910143889 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 18 Oct 89 p 2*

[Text] Prague (z)—Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, received a study delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Meng Liankun, deputy head of a department, in Prague on Tuesday [17 October].

In a comradely talk, they briefed one another on the work and tasks of the two fraternal parties in the present period. K. Hoffmann briefed the guests on the progress of the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress and other topical issues connected with party work. The talks were attended by Vladimir Patek, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department. Wang Xingda, PRC ambassador to the CSSR, was present.

During its stay in the CSSR the Chinese delegation will study the experience from the party's political-organizational work, and visit the East and South Bohemian regions, where it will acquaint itself with the activity of the party's territorial bodies and organizations.

Prague-Vienna Air Link Established

*AU1710090589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 13 Oct 89 p 7*

["(MIK)"]-signed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] On the basis of an agreement between CSA [Czechoslovak Airlines] and Austrian Airlines, a daily joint-operated Prague-Vienna air link will be inaugurated on 29 October. The air link will contribute to the development of cooperation in tourism between both capital cities, and Vienna will become Prague's nearest airport for connecting flights to the Near and Middle East.

Leaders Receive Zimbabwean Parliamentary Group

Federal Assembly Chairman

*LD1710204189 Prague CTK in English
1844 GMT 17 Oct 89*

[Text] Prague Oct 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra received here today a Zimbabwean parliamentary delegation headed by Speaker of the House of Assembly and Minister of Justice and Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Emmerson Munangagwa, currently on an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

This visit represents the first contact between the two countries' legislative bodies.

The Czechoslovak representative stated that Czechoslovakia supports all initiatives aimed at reducing nuclear strategic weapons and conventional armament. He said that the two sides have identical opinions on elementary issues concerning peace, disarmament, international security and cooperation, and on the need for the removal of tension, racism, apartheid and also the settlement of the situation in the south of Africa. Alois Indra appreciated the development of political, economic and cultural contacts between Czechoslovakia and Zimbabwe, adding that for instance trade exchange between the two countries has increased almost twenty-fold in the past six years. He stressed that Czechoslovakia is interested in the further development of mutual trade.

Emmerson Munangagwa informed the Czechoslovak party and state representative of the topical political development in his country. He stressed that peace represents the basic condition for the development of Zimbabwe. That is why the Zimbabwean Parliament supports all efforts aimed at reducing the threat of war. In this connection he pointed out the link between the positive development of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, development on the European continent and the situation in the south of Africa. In a discussion, Zimbabwean parliamentarians expressed interest in detailed information on the progress of the Czechoslovak economic reform and the potential further development of economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Zimbabwe.

General Secretary Jakes

*LD1710205389 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1900 GMT 17 Oct 89*

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, today received a parliamentary delegation from the Republic of Zimbabwe, led by Emmerson Munangagwa, which is paying an official visit to our country. The conversation covered questions concerning the development of mutual cooperation between the two countries.

Emmerson Munangagwa reported on the internal political and economic development, topical tasks of the Zimbabwe African National Union—PF, of the Parliament and Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe, and expressed a viewpoint on the situation in the neighboring African countries.

Milos Jakes briefed the delegation on the progress of restructuring in Czechoslovakia, on the tasks and activity of the CPCZ, and preparations for the 18th party congress. He highly praised the role which the Republic of Zimbabwe is playing in the struggle against racism and apartheid, for strengthening the independence of states of the South African region as well as the Non-Aligned Movement. He praised the significance of mutual meetings and cooperation between the parliaments for the development of cooperation between individual countries and strengthening international security and peace in the world.

Milos Jakes praised the level of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Zimbabwe, and expressed the conviction that they will continue to deepen for the benefit of the people of the two countries.

President Gustav Husak

*LD1910111289 Prague CTK in English
0008 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Text] Prague Oct 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here Wednesday a Zimbabwean parliamentary delegation, led by Speaker of the House of Assembly Emmerson Munangagwa, currently on an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

The two sides dealt with the present situation in both countries and potentialities of their further cooperation. They stated that traditional friendly relations between the two countries develop and strengthen in all spheres, in spite of geographical distance.

The Zimbabwean delegation was received Wednesday also by Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Matej Lucan.

Matej Lucan and Emmerson Munangagwa informed each other of the present situation in their countries and the ways of their further development. Matej Lucan explained to the Zimbabwean guest the principles of restructuring of the economic mechanism and democratization of Czechoslovak society. The two representatives

expressed their interest in extending cultural exchange and mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

Delegation Departs 21 Oct

AU2410214789 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 23 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Conclusion Of A Visit"]

[Text] Prague—A parliamentary delegation from the Republic of Zimbabwe headed by Emmerson Munangagwa, speaker of the House of Assembly, ended its official visit on Saturday [21 October] and departed from the CSSR. Vladimir Vedral, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the Chamber of People, along with other representatives bade farewell to the delegation at Ruzyně Airport in Prague. Shortly before his departure, Emmerson Munangagwa gave an interview to Czechoslovak journalists. He appreciated the opportunity to meet with and talk to the most senior Czechoslovak party and state representatives. An important element of the talks was a discussion on the possibilities for the further expansion of economic cooperation. "We were also interested in the current development in the socialist states. We accepted with pleasure an assurance from the most senior Czechoslovak representatives that all the changes which the CSSR is implementing pursue the aim of improving the socialist system and not of weakening it," said E. Munangagwa. In reply to a question on what kind of development can be expected in Namibia, he said that the Republic of Zimbabwe considers the thorough fulfillment of the U.N. resolution dealing with the situation surrounding Namibia to be the most important thing.

Lenart Receives Ethiopian Party Official

AU1710085189 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 13 Oct 89 p 2

[“(Z)”-signed report: "J. Lenart Hosts A Reception"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [12 October] in Prague Jozef Lenart, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received a delegation from the Workers' Party of Ethiopia [WPE] headed by Alenu Abebe, member of the WPE Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Council of Ministers.

Jozef Lenart acquainted his guest with the CPCZ's current tasks in preparing for the 18th congress and outlined the substance of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the democratization of social life in the CSSR. Alenu Abebe briefed him on the topical issues involved in the development of Ethiopian society. The two representatives also discussed some problems concerning contemporary international development. In this connection, Jozef Lenart expressed his complete

support for the peace creating endeavors of the Ethiopian leadership, endeavors which are directed toward resolving the country's internal problems by means of a political dialogue.

UN Official Departs; Ministry Statement

AU1810173589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 16 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report: "The United Nations and Information"]

[Text] Prague—Mrs. Therese Paquet-Sevigny, UN deputy secretary general and head of the department for public information at the UN Secretariat, has ended her working visit and departed the CSSR.

Lubomir Marsik, spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, made a statement about the talks she held with Czechoslovak representatives. Among other things, the statement said:

The CSSR fully supports restructuring of the current international information system and the establishment of new information and communication guidelines. It holds the opinion that the positive development of international relations must also be manifested in the dissemination of information.

During the talks, the Czechoslovak side appraised the role of the department for public information at the UN Secretariat, headed by Mrs. Paquet-Sevigny, in establishing the conditions for the fulfillment of this organization's mission in the above-mentioned sphere. During the course of the talks, active Czechoslovak support for strengthening the role of the United Nations in guaranteeing peace, international security, and the development of broad cooperation among states in the interest of resolving the current grave global problems was also emphasized.

Paquet-Sevigny appraised our active role at the United Nations and the traditional Czechoslovak support for this important international organization. She also appraised with satisfaction the work of the UN information center in Prague which was one of the first 10 centers of this type to be set up and which has been operating in Czechoslovakia since 1947.

Report on 20 Oct CPCZ CC Presidium Session

AU2410135589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 21 Oct 89 p 1

[“Report on CPCZ Central Committee Session”]

[Text] Prague—At its session on Friday [20 October] the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee discussed the ensurance of the resolution of the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session on the creation and protection of the environment, and adopted a number of measures aimed at gradually implementing it. What is involved are tasks in the sphere of

management and organization of state administration, planning, economic incentives, control, and ecological upbringing.

It addressed the draft principles of the CPCZ program. It also assessed the further course regarding the preparation of the draft of the new Constitution of the CSSR, the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR], and the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR].

It dealt with the activity of Communists in the Socialist Youth Union [SYU] and their share in the preparation of the SYU's national conference, which will be held in Prague on 11-12 November 1989. It valued the effort of the young Communists to further contribute to the development of the activity of the youth organization under the conditions of restructuring.

It discussed a report of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission on the check of how communist ranking personnel and party organizations in selected central bodies of the CSSR, the CSR, and the SSR, and in the organizations they are in charge of, have been implementing the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress on comprehensive housing construction, and approved the proposed measures.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium assessed the implementation of the conclusions of the 13th CPCZ Central Committee session and their projection into the planned amendment to the law on the system of primary and secondary schools, and the law on the institutes of higher learning.

Lenart Interviewed on Political Issues

*AU2010135289 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 19 Oct 89 p 3*

[Interview with Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, by RUDE PRAVO deputy chief editor Zdenek Porybny: "Creatively Toward the Demands of the Times"—place and date not given]

[Text] Comrade Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, gave an interview to RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA. Answering questions posed by RUDE PRAVO deputy chief editor Zdenek Porybny, he addresses issues connected with the activity of the CPCZ and the CSSR and some other issues connected with relations among the socialist states, with economic integration, and the process of restructuring and democratization under way in our society.

[Porybny] You have held the post of CPCZ Central Committee secretary for international policy since last December. Not so long ago you headed our party's delegation to the meeting of the secretaries of communist and workers parties of the socialist countries in Varna. Could you explain its purpose?

[Lenart] Our party realizes that the whole world and the world of socialism are facing a new historical challenge today. This applies to the internal development of capitalism and also of the socialist countries, as well as to the position of socialism in the world. The further fate of socialism, but also of progressive forces and civilization in general, will depend on how we will be able to respond to new demands. In this situation we regard an exchange of experience and views to be highly topical and necessary.

Moreover, the characteristic feature of the construction of socialism is the multifacetedness of forms. Every country proceeds, or should proceed, from its own conditions and possibilities. That, however, does not mean that we should behave the way the Czech song goes, "I on my own, always on my own." Our view is that it is necessary to get to know one another, learn far more from each other, but without handing out prescriptions for the others.

Naturally, one has to respect the views of others and behave openly. This is what our delegation strove for in Varna.

[Porybny] What was achieved in that respect?

[Lenart] We agreed, and I would like to stress this particularly, that the processes currently under way in the socialist countries are so rapid and so revolutionary that they require us to meet more frequently and more systematically, to provide information about emerging problems, and seek common solutions in spheres in which we have common interests.

Fundamental agreement was also manifested in the, on the whole, positive assessment of the development of the all-European process. The delegations stressed the importance of the Warsaw Pact member states' coordinated activity. They appreciated the fact that a number of important results have been achieved—the ongoing scrapping of U.S. and USSR intermediate-range missiles, the opening of the talks on conventional weapons, the fact that political dialogue has become activated in Europe, and that relations between the socialist and capitalist countries are expanding in the economic and cultural spheres, which must become the permanent element of the all-European process. The idea of the common European home has already become the subject of discussion of the world community. We also agreed that this trend must be asserted, that it must become permanent.

The absolute majority of the delegations resolutely rejected attempts to change the results of World War II and eliminate the political and socioeconomic multifacetedness of present day Europe. In the discussion it was noted in this connection that the campaigns unleashed in the West against the socialist countries are not in harmony with the all-European process.

[Porybny] Are these new phenomena also reflected in the activity of the Warsaw Pact?

[Lenart] Of course they are. We agree with our allies that especially now it is necessary to strengthen and develop political aspects alongside the military ones, and thus, at the same time, modernize and perfect the entire mechanism of its functioning. It is no coincidence that we no longer call it a military-political, but a political-military coalition.

[Porybny] Do you think that the time has come when political talks and agreements will become more important than, for example, military exercises?

[Lenart] Yes, I agree. Such time, in my opinion, has really come. But let us not idealize the situation. We must proceed soberly. As long the old-new NATO exists, the "younger" Warsaw Pact will also exist. And I would like to add that for us the cooperation with the allied countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact is the foundation of all foreign policy activity, the main objective of which is to ensure and strengthen peace for the present and future generations, ensuring the defense of the CSSR and the defense of socialist restructuring.

[Porybny] The policy of new thinking is making successful headway in the world, albeit with difficulty. New notions, such as the priority of universal human interests over class interests, are making their way into our dictionary. Is this not a retreat from our earlier positions?

[Lenart] One has to clarify whose class interests are involved. As far as the interests of the working classes are concerned, it would be a mistake to pit class interests against universal human interests. Already Lenin intimated that the growth of the destructiveness of military technology will at one stage reach such a degree that a war would mean the end to life on earth. And from this, naturally, also arises the need to learn to live with the feeling of responsibility not only for one's own class, but for the entire human civilization.

Not only do the classes of the working people not prevent the solution of mankind's global problems, such as nuclear war, death by starvation, ecological problems, diseases such as AIDS, cynical drug trafficking, and so forth, but, on the contrary, they are the driving force when it comes to resolving them. After all, the simple working people suffer most by this. Precisely they are most interested in the elimination of all those ills. Therefore their class interests are connected with humanism, progress, justice, and the freedom of nations and therefore they are, if you like, the conscience of mankind.

The exploiting classes have it complicated. They have often solved their interests by means of militarism. But they have a tough, historically unprecedented decision to make. They have to choose between a gamble and common sense. And a gamble would mean death—and not only of the poor people. This is an important realistic motive. The Soviet Union and the entire Warsaw Pact have achieved certain progress already. But the struggle for realism is escalating.

Of course, we must not confuse class principle with sectarianism. Let us be more open toward all people of

good will in the interest of resolving the world's global problems, even though we know that they are our natural allies in this endeavor.

[Porybny] What is our Czechoslovak contribution to this all-European process?

[Lenart] We stood at the cradle of the all-European process, we are implementing the obligations which arise for us from this process, we are submitting initiatives. I would like to recall the proposal by the CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary to establish a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO, which is motivated by the wish to strengthen security and cooperation on our continent. We are, in particular, interested in the development of relations which would be devoid of stereotype prejudices and mistrust, that is, relations built on the basis of common or close interests.

We can note with satisfaction that a number of suggestions which we have already submitted to our partners are being implemented in life, especially as regards our relations with the FRG, but also with neutral Austria, which has expressed the wish to take part in building a zone of trust.

We are paying great attention to the ecological situation in central Europe, and we are striving to develop cooperation with the neighboring countries in the sphere of environmental protection.

[Porybny] You have mentioned attempts to change the postwar realities in Europe. It is obvious that they have escalated of late. What do you think about this?

[Lenart] This, above all, casts doubt on the signed international treaties and agreements and is at variance with the all-European process. Our country has had woeful experience with that. Where Yalta and Potsdam are losing, Munich is winning. And this would mean the end to the all-European process. I am convinced that the progressive and realistic forces in Europe realize this danger and are strong enough to jointly beat back such attempts.

[Porybny] And what are we doing for this?

[Lenart] I have mentioned some initiatives already. I could also enumerate regional disarmament initiatives by the CSSR and the GDR, at the cradle of which stood the CPCZ, the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], and the SPD [Socialist Party of Germany].

We are also conducting talks with West European communist, social democratic, and other parties on ways to strengthen the all-European process step by step. The Czechoslovak peace and antiwar movement has been undertaking extensive activity. I very much appreciate the activity of trade unions, youth and students, women and other social organizations, church circles, civic groups, and individuals in support of the peaceful foreign policy of our country and the entire socialist community. All this reflects the endeavor of our public to strengthen international understanding and cooperation.

[Porybny] What findings in that respect have you had from the talks you conducted with representatives of the capitalist countries lately?

[Lenart] They all were greatly interested in the course of the process of restructuring and democratization in our country. They see us as an interesting and reliable partner with low indebtedness, high economic potential, an intelligent work force, and as being socially stable.

On the other hand, one has to say that in the course of talks the question of human rights often crops up on the agenda, sometimes naturally, and sometimes artificially. We speak openly about all these issues. We keep the door open for everyone who wants to talk with us and discuss matters with us in the spirit of political realism and mutually advantageous cooperation.

However, we reject attempts at interference in internal affairs. They are not only at variance with civilized relations among independent countries, but also unethical, as is the case when we hear words about the need for the "wind of freedom" to blow in our country from a state which deprives honest people of their work only because of their convictions.

[Porybny] Of late we have often heard advice from abroad about how we should carry out restructuring and democratization in Czechoslovakia. Even ready-made recipes are being offered to us. Would some of them not come in handy for us?

[Lenart] As I have already said, I am not a friend of universal recipes. We proceed from our conditions and historical experience. We experienced 2 decades of bourgeois democracy which, although it contained democratic elements, was not able to solve society's fundamental problems and in the end led our nations to Munich. It did not pass the test of history.

Those who are offering us various "roundtable" negotiations have no mandate, they represent more or less either only themselves or, as we can convince ourselves, often the interests of nonpatriotic, non-Czechoslovak reactionary conservative forces. Behind closed doors they would like to force their ideas onto the entire society. Ignoring the interests of the people, dealing behind their backs, cabinet policy, all that was typical of the bourgeois policy and we do not intend to go back to that.

[Porybny] CEMA is undergoing a certain crisis. The old mechanisms have become worn out and new ones have not yet been created. And problems from the economy are being transferred into politics. How do you see this development?

[Lenart] First of all, I would like to recall that from the time of its founding CEMA played an undoubtedly positive role not only in the industrialization and consolidation of the economies of the socialist countries, but also in cementing them together politically. Naturally, not everything was a success, not all expectations have been fulfilled.

I see CEMA's main shortcoming in the fact that it did not succeed in reacting in time and appropriately to the needs of the new stage of the scientific-technical revolution and optimally harmonizing the general interests of the whole of the community with the needs of the individual countries. This also plays a role in the fact that the CEMA member countries lag behind the leading capitalist states economically, and ultimately this can also be seen in the political sphere. To put it concisely: CEMA needs restructuring very urgently.

To this I want to add that the economic, legal, and organizational conditions for strengthening integration and establishing a socialist common market can only be created by comparing and utilizing our common experience. And what is of utmost importance—by fulfilling international agreements.

[Porybny] Do you not think that in the past we somewhat underestimated the importance and also the pace of the internationalization of the world economy and, in particular, the integration processes in Western Europe?

[Lenart] It could be, though I do not want to generalize. Our country is marked by a strong degree of autarky, to the detriment of efficiency. In any case it is obvious that the integration processes in our country and in the world are the objective consequence of the proceeding internationalization of the world economic and scientific-technical potential.

And as the experience of the West European integration groupings shows, their participants' coordination of procedure in the economic sphere is accompanied by the coordination of procedure in the social and foreign policy sphere, and it also enforces it. I regard it as paradoxical that the degree of coordination of foreign policy in the EEC and NATO is greater than it is among the socialist countries, the CEMA members and the Warsaw Pact.

[Porybny] What, in this context, does the future of the reformed CEMA look like to you?

[Lenart] It definitely will not be a closed entity. We do not want the integration processes in CEMA to lead to its isolation; on the contrary, we want them to lead to the closest possible relations with the entire world economy. The important thing will be to find a substantially more effective mechanism of cooperation than has been the case to date, and to solve a great number of further problems.

However, in my opinion, the way out of the current unsatisfactory situation cannot be a shift away from integration within the CEMA framework and an attempt to seek only a direct linkup for individual member states' economies with the EEC. CEMA must be, and I believe it will be, a firm base in order to be partners for the EEC, and not mere objects of its policy.

[Porybny] But the procrastination with the introduction of new forms of cooperation, such as direct relations or the establishment of joint ventures, certainly does not do any good....

[Lenart] Of course it does not. For example, the inability of economic institutions today to found—within the framework of bilateral, but also multilateral, relations—joint ventures between the socialist countries and leading companies in the capitalist world is almost unbelievable. One must not be afraid to seek brand new solutions also to problems such as our assets [aktiva] in some countries.

[Porybny] You spoke about the need to exchange experience. What experience could we, in Czechoslovakia, offer our partners in CEMA?

[Lenart] There would be quite a few of them, but I will mention the one which I regard to be especially interesting. This is the example of the Agrokombinate united agricultural cooperative in Slusovice, where they started much earlier than anywhere else, and I must say that with many difficulties, doing what I would like today to recommend to our economy to look at. On the basis of creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory and utilizing the experience and traditions of modern entrepreneurship in the Gottwaldov District, the Slusovice team has succeeded in true renaissance of socialist production relations and socialist ownership in particular.

A very rational, expedient combine has been established, for which market is not some sort of a general perception, but a daily barometer and a school. Here people are not lukewarm employees, but true, committed co-entrepreneurs, active participants in the production process. Have a look, for example, at how their system of management and remuneration combines the interests of the enterprise with the interests of individuals and work collectives! They have simply made use of the socially progressive organization of cooperative enterprises to overcome certain anonymity of ownership and have released the creative potential which is in our people.

And I think that they are very convincingly proving that in the restructuring of the economic mechanism in a socialist country we do not have at any price to resort to the reprivatization of state or cooperative ownership as the panacea for our problems.

[Porybny] In other words: You would like to see more Slusovices in our country?

[Lenart] Why not? Of course, there is no need to blindly copy everything. That would be a mistake. The important thing is to keep on developing—on the basis of socialist ownership—such forms of management and remuneration which would combine people's private interests with the interests of a workshop, worksite, and enterprise. Slusovice, and with it also a number of other our enterprises, are the evidence that this is possible and that this benefits the enterprise, state, and socialism.

[Porybny] You have worked for many years in various important party and state posts. What, with the distance of time, do you personally regard as certain milestones of that time, which we will be able to fully appreciate perhaps only after a longer time?

[Lenart] There have been a few of them, but I will mention only one which I personally regard as particularly important. This is the historical success of our party and our people in solving the nationality issue, in overcoming the differences in the economic standard, conditions, and living standard of our nations, a matter that made it possible for them to achieve genuine—and not only legal—equality.

That what we have done together in this republic—the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Hungarians, the Ukrainians, the Poles, and members of other nationalities—is today, when human rights stand in the foreground of the world's attention, a great success. And it was achieved thanks to the consistent implementation of the Leninist nationality policy by our Communist Party. Socialism has succeeded in what the bourgeois republic was incapable of solving.

And I can tell you that representatives of various countries, whom I am meeting with, appreciate this and for many of them this is even an inspiration. Naturally, we do not say that our solutions are universally applicable, but I think that today, when we see the situation in other countries, we do not have to be at all ashamed of our results in that sphere.

[Porybny] No doubt about that. However, sometimes even such historical successes are overshadowed in people's consciousness by quite normal worries which arise from the not too satisfactory state of our economy. In what do you see the source of the slowdown of our country's economic development?

[Lenart] This would require a longer analysis, which—by the way—our party made at the seventh and ninth sessions of its Central Committee, and from which it deduced the necessity of our society's restructuring and democratization. And to this I would like to add my personal conviction that in the [1968-69] post-crisis years we have not been asserting resolutely enough what, in my opinion, is the purpose of the Lesson From the Crisis Developments in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress, that is, that the main weapon against the danger from the right is the party's creative, Leninist policy.

The Lesson is not only an analysis but mainly an appeal for creatively resolving social and economic problems. Unfortunately, we have not always understood it like that. At times we were satisfied with being vigilant only—even though I do not underestimate it—and in some places to the detriment of things; in the economic management structures especially consolidation was confused with conservation, and this did not do us any good.

Thus, I would like to tell those who are trying from various quarters to force us to revise the Lesson that one has to humanly comprehend its purpose and see restructuring as its continuation. Our society has self-critically, self-cleansingly, and often even at a cost of pain, worked its way to it. Today we are devising, and also already

realizing, the Czechoslovak project of restructuring from the bequest of the Lesson but mainly from the needs of the society's development.

Reduction of Steel Production Discussed

AU1910210789 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 18 Oct 89 p 4

[Evzen Stanek article: "Are We Going to Reduce Steel Production?"]

[Excerpts] Czechoslovakia is one of the countries with the highest per capita production of iron and steel. Despite the fact that this has been criticized for years as one of the things greatly burdening the national economy and reducing its performance, last year this production rose to a record 15.5 million tonnes and, obviously, will also not drop this year. Why, despite all the plans in the past, have we not succeeded in reducing steel production, to increase its effectiveness? This is what RUDE PRAVO readers often ask in their letters. [passage omitted]

In the past the concepts for the development of our industry did not sufficiently respect the fact that in the developed countries the reduction of the volumes of metallurgical production is, above all, the consequence of the reduction of their consumption in other branches. In that sense the concept was not modernized in Czechoslovakia and demanded ever more metal. For comparison: The so-called obvious consumption of steel per capita in our country—around 700 kg annually—is one of the highest in the world. In the FRG at present it is less than two-thirds of the mentioned quantity. However, a sudden reduction of metallurgical production below the level to which consumers are able to adapt themselves would elicit shortages which would disrupt economic proportions—beginning with worsening of the supplier-user relations all the way to the intensification of imbalance on the market. A unilateral half-baked decision would certainly unfavorably influence also the further development of the economic mechanism, strengthen the monopolist position of steel producers, and the rationing of metal would have to be introduced.

The same also applies to another very much discussed subject—the exports of rolled material. In 1988 we exported more than 3 million tonnes. There are also several reasons why last year the exports were not reduced. Among others because in the Eighth 5-Year Plan exports to the Soviet Union were increased by 300,000 tonnes annually in connection with long-term projects and agreements; in the next period, however, as envisaged in the concept for economic and scientific-technical cooperation for 15-20 years, which was agreed on this year, Czechoslovakia will be gradually reducing its steel exports to the USSR. Also, the exports of metallurgical materials have been further increased in connection with the improvement of our relations with China, and to the nonsocialist countries in the interest of improving Czechoslovakia's balance of payments. The increased prices of rolled material on the markets of the nonsocialist countries also have contributed to this development. However, the primary reason is the unsuccessful effort to date by other industrial branches, espe-

cially the engineering, to export sufficient quantity of more advantageous products. [passage omitted]

Not so long ago, the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and the Electrotechnical Industry worked out a draft of a long-term concept for the development of the metallurgical industry in harmony with the development of the entire economy. Basically it contains two variants for the possible development of our metallurgical works. The first, which is described as being more realistic, envisages reducing steel production to 11.5 million tonnes annually in the year 2005. The number of people working in the metallurgical industry should drop by 30,000; 90 percent of the production then should be ensured through continuous casting. The impact on the environment also would be significant—emissions would be reduced from the current 78,000 tonnes to 37,500 tonnes, the volume of discharged sulphites would be reduced to half as early as in 1995. [passage omitted]

The second variant for reducing [steel production] to as little as 10 million tonnes annually was also assessed. In that case some 45,000 jobs would be gone, which would have to be created in other branches or in metallurgical enterprises with the help of new production programs linked directly with their production. Like this we would achieve labor productivity comparable with today's in the FRG. Some of our experts are even of the opinion that in the further stage of the work on a long-term outlook one could find more advantageous variants for the national economy, with which metallurgical works themselves would not only earn enough for both their phasing-out programs and their development, but would even be able to contribute to the modernization of other branches. [passage omitted]

Slovak Presidium Report on Environment

AU2010104889

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 17 October on pages 4 and 5 carries the 8,000-word "Report of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Presidium on Party Policy in the Creation and Protection of the Environment in the Slovak Socialist Republic," which was delivered by Ondrej Saling, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, at the CPSL Central Committee session in Bratislava on 16 October.

In the first half of the report, Saling discusses the negative influences of the former "extensive development" of the economy on the state of the environment in Slovakia and its individual components (water, air, soil, and forests) and the measures that have been taken in recent years to minimize or eliminate them. In spite of these measures, he says, "no fundamental breakthrough in improving the state of the environment in Slovakia has occurred yet." In the second half of the report, he outlines the tasks in environmental care for the period to come. He says that the "basic aim is not to permit any deterioration of the environment, while ensuring a dynamic development of production forces, and to gradually improve it so as to achieve ecological balance on the overwhelming part of the territory of the Slovak

Socialist Republic by the year 2000." Saling discusses the tasks facing Slovakia in recycling and utilizing industrial waste, in liquidating toxic waste (in this context Saling criticizes the "short-sighted attempts to import toxic and other dangerous types of waste from abroad"), in building effluent treatment plants, building a network of stations for monitoring harmful substances, phasing out or modernizing ecologically hazardous production lines and introducing ecologically clean and waste-free technologies, creating research, design, and construction capacities for ecological projects, creating an effective system of levies and taxes for the use of the environment and natural resources as well as a system of fines for environmental polluters, and in improving the present system and structure of management in this sphere. Speaking about the necessity of improving the protection of water resources, Saling mentions that "it is necessary to expeditiously reroute the 'Friendship' oil pipeline," which is now running through the Rye Island, the area along the Danube in southern Slovakia which is the largest source of drinking water in Slovakia. In the concluding part of his speech, Saling discusses the responsibility of national committees to publicly assess all environmental issues and the party's and media responsibility to "heighten the public's ecological awareness." In this context Saling stresses the importance of a "sensitive approach" to the young generation and of the provision of "truthful and timely information on environmental problems and ways of solving them." This is necessary, he says, because their "lack of experience" makes young people "easily succumb" to "deliberately distorted data, torn out of context."

Saling's report does not provide any data on the extent of environmental damage in Slovakia, it merely lists the areas of Slovakia, and the components of the environment, which are most severely affected by pollution. In its analysis of the causes of environmental problems in Slovakia, in its characterization of the state of the environment, as well as in the proposed measures, the report does not differ from that of Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, delivered to the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee on 11 October.

Teacher Criticizes Outdated History Textbooks

AU1910145689

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 18 October on page 3, under the headline "A Dialogue Instead of Buck Passing," carries a 900-word letter from Maria Bezchlebova, a Prague schoolteacher, in which she complains about the inadequate and out-of-date textbooks available for teaching history and civic studies.

According to Bezchlebova, "the textbooks come into conflict with what the pupils hear on radio and television, with what they read in the press and in literature, with what they hear in statesmen's speeches, and with what they hear at home from their parents." She goes on

to claim that many teachers are disturbed and embittered because they do not have at their disposal textbooks which could help to adequately explain "the political economy of socialism, the history of the USSR, some of the problems involved in our national histories, the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and other issues."

Bezchlebova regards it as "buck passing" to teach using such out-of-date books. She explains that teachers must constantly follow the mass media and study political and specialist literature. In her opinion, it is necessary for a good social science teacher to follow events in the papers every day and to read specialist journals and other materials such as NOVA MYSL, TVORBA, and TRIBUNA.

At the end of her letter Bezchlebova writes, "If we do not speak to our pupils they will become all the more influenced by Western radio, by enemy whispering campaigns, and by the incorrect views of poorly and badly informed people."

Janak Address to Zilian Farmers 21 Oct

AU2410150489

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 23 October on page 1 carries 1,300-words of "excerpts" from a speech by Ignac Janak, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, at the district conference of United Agricultural Cooperatives in Zilina, held on 21 October.

In the first half of the speech, Janak praises the results achieved by Czechoslovak agriculture since the start of collectivization 40 years ago and outlines, in general terms, the tasks facing farmers at present. These include the "deepening" of economic accountability and self-financing, the care of land resources, protection of the environment and the minimizing of harmful chemical substances in the food chain, the "consolidating" of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and ensuring a "varied and attractive" selection of food products, reducing losses in the harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural produce, and improving labor discipline and organization. In the second half of his speech Janak, discusses preparations for next year's party congress, saying that these preparations are not an internal party affair but should "deepen the unity between the party and the people" and give everyone the chance to express his views and comments on the congress documents. Janak notes the great importance which the party attributes to the National Front and, within this framework, to the Union of Cooperative Farmers in developing socialist democracy, and the need to improve political educational work. In this context, he says that the party "welcomes every good idea and sincere effort to help improve socialism" and "will consult everyone setting himself such goals." He adds, however, that "we do not intend to engage in discussions with those whose aim it is to subvert our homeland, attack the basic values of socialism, ignore positive results and exaggerate shortcomings, stir up an atmosphere of fear, and organize actions to exert pressure."

Berlin Demonstrators Oppose Krenz Election

*LD2410185389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1818 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A demonstration of several thousand people, mostly young, formed this evening in Berlin's city center. They marched from the Alexanderplatz to the People's Chamber building and then through various streets in the city center. Banners and chants expressed opposition to the election of the GDR State Council chairman and calls for changes in the electoral legislation, increased democracy, and an open press. Numerous demonstrators carried burning candles. In several main streets, such as the Mollstrasse, the Liebknechtstrasse, and the Beimlerstrasse, there was a temporary obstruction of car, bus, and streetcar traffic.

Further ADN Report

*LD2410204789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1925 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—A demonstration procession of several thousand people, mostly young people, formed this evening in the Berlin inner city. The demonstrators, at times numbering up to 12,000, marched from the Alexanderplatz to the People's Chamber building and then through various streets in the city center. [passage omitted]

Passers-by, who spoke against such demonstrations taking over from objective dialogue, addressed participants in the march on the Alexanderplatz and later on the Marx-Engels-Platz as well. In discussion groups, they discussed with them problems such as travel regulations, effective work in the factories, questions of trade and supply, or reporting in the media. The group discussions were open, critical, often controversial, but objective.

Hamburg DPA Account

*LD2410185989 Hamburg DPA in German
1808 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Over 1,000 people marched late this afternoon in East Berlin from the Alexanderplatz Square to the "Palace of the Republic," the seat of the GDR People's Chamber, and to the Council of State building. They were demanding free elections in the GDR and were protesting in chorus against the election of Egon Krenz as head of state.

The demonstrators shouted, among others things: "Egon Krenz We Are The Competition." Banners said: "Change of Scenery" and "Egon, Who Consulted Us?" There were also some shouts for "New Forum."

Many curious bystanders followed the demonstration, so that for a time the crowd totalled 2,000 to 3,000 people.

Security personnel were hardly to be seen. During the demonstration the police blocked off the entry to its headquarters in the Keibelstrasse. Several demonstrators pushing against the barrier were called on to show

level-headedness by fellow demonstrators. They shouted to the uniformed police: "Get changed, get changed" and "Join us, join us."

In front of the ADN news agency building shouts for press freedom could again be heard. The doors of the ADN building were closed. Demonstrators who placed candles there chanted in unison: "ADN, wake up."

The police restricted themselves, in the main, to controlling the traffic. Several drivers sounded their horns, partly out of sympathy for the demonstrators, partly out of annoyance.

The demonstration ended peacefully after about 2 and 1/2 hours, after the over 5,000 demonstrators had once again marched to the "Palace of the Republic" and had demonstrated in front of the wing containing the People's Chamber. They shouted inter alia "We are not Egon Krenz fans" and "Egon Krenz, no license" as well as "Egon, come to the dialogue." A banner read: "For a directly and democratically elected president."

In front of the Council of State building, where a guard regiment had mounted guard in a loose line, demonstrators placed candles on the street and in front of the feet of some members of the guard regiment. Later on, various groups formed, which discussed the events of the day among themselves. Among them were also Socialist Unity Party of Germany functionaries. Police and members of the guard regiment were also drawn into the discussions.

Politburo Calls for Liberalization of Travel Laws

*LD2410191789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1825 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During its 24 October session, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo heard information from General Secretary Egon Krenz on the current political situation in the GDR following the Ninth Central Committee session and on the tasks facing the party. Members of the Politburo reported on their talks in work collectives and assemblies. The insights gained thereby will be evaluated in the coming work of the Politburo. The intensive dialogue with citizens will be continued.

Commitments for the preparation of the 10th Central Committee session, which is scheduled for 8-10 November 1989, were decided upon.

On the basis of the Ninth Central Committee session, the Politburo concerned itself with principles for the extension of travel possibilities for GDR citizens. It was recommended that the GDR Council of Ministers work out a draft law on travel abroad by GDR citizens and present this for public discussion in November. It is envisaged that every citizen will have the right to apply for a passport and to travel with a visa—without the existence of family relationships and the reasons for travel demanded to date—to all states and Berlin (West).

Following a thorough evaluation of all proposals put forward, the draft law is due to be presented to the People's Chamber by the end of this year for discussion and decision.

During the Politburo meeting, a report from General Secretary Egon Krenz on his meeting with Regional Bishop Dr Werner Leich was also noted approvingly and relevant measures were set down.

The politburo agreed to a plan put forward by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the future development of the VEB Mansfield "Wilhelm Pieck" combine for the period after 1990 and on the development of copper ore production.

Police Excesses at Protests Admitted

*AU2410193089 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Speaking before the State Council today, the chairman of the People's Chamber Defense Committee, Herger, admitted that non-involved people had also been harmed during the police activities of the past weeks. Powers were exceeded and laws were violated in the treatment of people who were arrested [Zugefuehrte]. Talks have been held with most of the people who have complained. Leading policemen have apologized. There are four investigations; 83 complaints and reports are being checked.

However, one should not arouse general resentment against the protective and security organs. Herger presented the order issued by Egon Krenz, which permits the active use of police forces and means, except for arms, only if violence is used or threatened by demonstrators. Rowdies and people performing acts of violence emerged from peaceful gatherings. On 7 October it had been feared in Berlin that masses of people would forcibly break through the border, Herger said.

Council of State Discusses Krenz, Demonstrations

*LD2410182389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1436 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of State met today following the meeting of the People's Chamber at which Egon Krenz was elected chairman of this body. Referring to his statement to the parliament, Egon Krenz stressed the high responsibility of the Council of State in the process of renewal of the socialist society in the GDR. The far-reaching changes currently underway in the GDR will also be reflected in the further approach of the Council of State to fulfilling its constitutional duties. All proposals and questions affecting its activities, arising from the current dialogue and in preparation for the 12th Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress, will be consistently considered, democratically discussed, and collectively decided.

The Council of State accepted a joint declaration from the chairman of the committee for national defense of

the GDR People's Chamber, Dr Wolfgang Herger, and the chairman of the Constitutional and Legal Affairs committee of the People's Chamber, Professor Dr Wolfgang Weichert, and resolved to publish it. It stresses that the protection and security organs of the GDR received the emphatic order, throughout the events of the past weeks, to exercise the utmost restraint and to intervene only when acts of violence were imminent or were actually committed at the gatherings.

This applies to all of the gatherings, especially in Leipzig, Dresden, and Berlin, because it was in these cities that the largest unannounced demonstrations were expected to take place and did in fact do so.

The use of firearms in connection with possible demonstrations was categorically forbidden by the orders of the then-chairman of the National Defense Council. Egon Krenz was elected chairman of the GDR Council of State today, and prepared and put forward this order. In an explanation of the order, it is stated: "Any necessary measures are to be undertaken to ensure a peaceful outcome of the possible demonstrations." Dr Wolfgang Herger, who read out the statement, drew attention to the fact that, in particular in Dresden, Leipzig, and Berlin on 7-8 October, there was rioting, which was unequivocally directed against the state security and the public order, endangering the citizens' peace. At gatherings which had begun peacefully, "rowdies" and hooligans made verbal and physical attacks against the public order and the forces of order were deployed. In Berlin, the so-called demonstrator on 7 October began from Alexanderplatz with the cry: "To the Brandenburg Gate." It became clear from reconnaissance that this call was to be interpreted as a call to a mass, violent penetration of the border.

Unfortunately, innocent bystanders were also injured during the police deployment. Members of the protection and security organs overstepped their authority and acted unlawfully against people brought in for legal proceedings.

"I know personal talks have been held with most of the citizens who have made complaints about this. Leading members of the people's police have apologized to these citizens. Eighty-three reports and memos are currently being examined. To date, four preliminary proceedings have been undertaken," the speaker explained.

He wanted to emphasize, however: A general atmosphere against the protection and security forces should not be created because of the transgressions of certain members. It is their constitutional duty to ensure peace for all the people. "They have always done this. They should therefore be sure of the gratitude of all the workers of our country at all times." The Council of State approved Egon Krenz's proposal to instruct the GDR general prosecuting attorney to report on the results of his investigations and on the measures introduced in accordance with Article 74 of the GDR Constitution, at the next meeting of the Council of State.

LDPD Deputy Comments on Vote Against Krenz

*AU2410221789 Vienna Television Service
in German 2107 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Interview with LDPD People's Chamber Deputy Klaus Peter Weichenhain by Thomas Fuhrmann via television link between Vienna and East Berlin on 24 October—live]

[Text] [Fuhrmann] Criticism in the GDR is becoming increasingly open. Something unusual happened today in the People's Chamber. For the first time, 26 deputies did not vote for the new State Council chairman and 26 deputies abstained from voting. One of those who voted against Krenz today is now sitting in our studio in East Berlin. I welcome Mr Klaus Peter Weichenhain. Good evening.

[Weichenhain] Good evening, Mr Fuhrmann.

[Fuhrmann] Since 1986 you have been a People's Chamber deputy of one of the block parties, which were mentioned earlier, namely, of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD]. Why did you not vote for Egon Krenz today?

[Weichenhain] Mr Fuhrmann, I ask you to understand that the vote I did not cast for the new State Council chairman is a problem which I have to account for to my voters, in accordance with the Constitution. I have to settle this with my voters and with myself. The People's Chamber deputies who voted for Egon Krenz have accepted this. My party group has also accepted this. And I simply ask you and your viewers, for reasons of fairness, to accept this too, to accept that I acted in this way and that I will not discuss my reasons in front of this camera.

[Fuhrmann] Of course, we accept this. After all, it is unusual that you are in the East Berlin studio this evening and that we have the opportunity of talking with you.

[Weichenhain] Perhaps this is already a new sign of what is going on in my country.

[Fuhrmann] It is certainly a sign of a new start.

[Weichenhain] This is true.

[Fuhrmann] Your party is one that has been calling for reforms for weeks, for a long time. Your chairman, Gerlach, has strongly advocated such reforms. In which direction are these reforms to go—freedom of travel, free elections? What do you want to achieve in the short term? What do you aim for in the medium term?

[Weichenhain] Mr Fuhrmann, in our ideas about how our country has to develop further, we distinguish between short-term, medium-term, and long-term tasks, which have to be solved with the cooperation of all democratic and patriotic forces in our country.

Referring to your question, we consider a short-term task, among other things, an open and public dialogue with all groups that are based on the Constitution, that are willing to tackle the problems, to solve them with us, and this can be done only through dialogue. We think that dialogue should not be a purpose in itself, but it has to lead to changes in many spheres of social life in our republic. Another such short-term measure would be, for instance, tourist trips for all GDR citizens, the opportunity to go where they want to go, and quickly changing and normalizing tourism to socialist countries. Short-term measures, which we, the LDPD, have advocated, would also be necessary as regards the establishment of new laws, such as on release from GDR citizenship, with very specific dates and stipulations, so that every GDR citizen who wants to be released from his GDR citizenship is given this right.

Or let us take—just to mention two other examples—the establishment of political and legal measures for the return of former citizens who have left our country, so that they are safe, and there must be legal measures to ensure that they are not discriminated against. Another thing is, to mention this, too, a change in the penal code.

[Fuhrmann] Mr Weichenhain, must it not be your goal to achieve a multiparty system with more competition and, if this is possible in the GDR, free elections in the end, in which you, with your party, can compete with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and with the others at an equal level and with equal opportunities?

[Weichenhain] Mr Fuhrmann, in one aspect we agree as regards your question, that is, as far as the bigger role and importance of the multiparty system is involved. As regards competition, I think this is not the issue in our country—a competition between the parties. I think that there can only be cooperation within a joint alliance of, as I said before, all democratic and patriotic forces. In this alliance, every party—in line with its possibilities, its membership, and its traditions—has to contribute the best it can. We, the LDPD, believe that even during these difficult days of our republic, this alliance is unshakable and will be the root of all of our successes to get out of some problems, which are moving us very deeply today.

[Fuhrmann] A last question, Mr Weichenhain. What about the Berlin Wall? Should the wall be removed and will you and your party advocate this, or is this something which will remain as it is forever?

[Weichenhain] Mr Fuhrmann, I give you an honest answer: The LDPD will advocate the removal of the wall as soon as the conditions for which it was established no longer exist. When this will be will not only be within our sphere of influence.

[Fuhrmann] Thank you very much for coming to our studio and I wish you further good work in the GDR. Thank you.

[Weichenhain] Thank you very much.

Krenz 'Encouraged' by Talks With Workers*AU2410134789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 20 Oct 89 p 1*

[Statement made to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND by Egon Krenz, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany: "Encouraged To Consistently Proceed on Road We Have Taken"]

[Text] These talks with workers in Berlin have been a great experience for me. I could feel and learn on location how everything that was stated at the Ninth Central Committee Session, is in accordance with the thoughts, proposals, expectations, and also the criticism of the workers. One of them told me that he was glad that everybody was following my speech on television on Wednesday night [18 October], but that it was still necessary to say certain things even more clearly. This is correct. We still have to find solutions together for many problems.

I have been encouraged by these frank talks with workers and engineers—and I know that this holds equally true for the leadership of our party—to further consistently proceed on the road we have embarked upon without lowering our demands.

Krenz, Leich Meeting Produces 'Positive Message'*LD2110090789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0404 GMT 21 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The commentary "Message From Hubertusstock," published today in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reads as follows:

In the past few days, in our socialist country, a public, open, and constructive dialogue on fundamental issues of our social development has begun. A notable event in this respect was undoubtedly the meeting between Egon Krenz and Werner Leich, which the regional bishop characterized as a signal, less than 24 hours after the election of the general secretary, as to how much importance is attached to the dialogue. While questions concerning the current situation predominated at Hubertusstock, as officially announced, the remarks made by both sides after the frank talk showed that very important questions of long-term importance were also discussed.

A key sentence is the joint observation that the GDR must be preserved. To preserve is in our language, shaped by Luther; a beautiful word, full of meaning. It means maintaining, retaining, safeguarding, and protecting. Thus we note an important outcome of the meeting between the general secretary and regional bishop—in a sense as a starting point for everything to come—the agreement that what has been achieved jointly in 4 decades in our socialist country should not be put at risk, but should be consolidated for the benefit of each and every GDR citizen.

Important statements about our aims and how they should be achieved, should be retained. The changes in our society must make life in it more attractive and meaningful. This includes the further development of our socialist democracy, the participation by all mature citizens in the democratic formation of objectives, while preserving all civil rights and duties. Agreement on those objectives should be a good basis for the new chapter of constructive cooperation between state and church.

Also to be retained is the atmosphere of the meeting, which is of importance not only for relations between state and church, but for public dialogue as a whole: openness, balance, and constructive spirit, respect for the convictions and mission of the other side, the desire to dare to trust and create trust. It demonstrated a readiness to bear burdens together, make them easier through joint work, and thus increasingly improve our social existence.

When, on balance, the outcome of the talks was the conviction that more unites us than divides us with respect to the shaping of the present and future, then this should act as a spur throughout the country. To come closer together, to overcome the hardening of positions and lack of dialogue of the past, to talk with one another about joint concerns, openly and constructively, to stick together without differences, to work together on the solution of problems—this is the positive message from Hubertusstock.

Stolpe Says Krenz 'Gorbachev's Candidate'*LD2410165989 Hamburg DPA in German
1607 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The new GDR state and party chief Egon Krenz is, according to the Evangelical Consistory President Manfred Stolpe, "Gorbachev's candidate." "I consider him to be capable of introducing glasnost and perestroika into the GDR," the GDR churchman said today in East Berlin. Krenz does not have, as in normal times, 100 days, but rather must in view of the difficult, complex situation "lay tangible changes on the table" in as short a time as 40 days. It is high time to show "courage to admit the truth" and to conduct dialogue with all "without exclusion."

Stolpe said the priorities were possibilities to travel to Western countries and decisions on structural changes in the state apparatus such as the separation of state and party. Krenz is the man "who has the qualifications to advance the very difficult tasks on the agenda."

Film, Television Specialists Debate Policy*AU2410154289 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 20 Oct 89 p 4*

[ADN report: "Reverse Wrong Decisions Now"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Presidium of the Film and Television Specialists Association of the GDR held a

meeting in Berlin yesterday [19 October], and conveyed the following message to ADN:

We have conducted a most serious debate on the current sociopolitical situation, and on that of media policy in particular. In order to promote the comprehensive social dialogue which has been initiated, the media must not hesitate and must immediately take steps to make up for lost confidence. Film and television workers want to faithfully record and vigorously stimulate this dialogue. The important thing is to immediately turn to the pending problems and inconsistencies, without any fear and taboos, and to stimulate the intellectual potential of the association to turn the media into efficient organs for a dialogue between all forces of society about our present time and the future. It is important to have television that is accepted by the people, that takes into account social psychology, and promotes political culture. On 24 October the presidium will propose to the executive board of the Film and Television Specialists Association that it use its possibilities for democratic control more vigorously, and that it make proposals concerning the current and future challenges for the socialist media vis-a-vis our society's democratic public.

Demands were raised concerning closer cooperation with other artists' associations, the unimpeded showing of Soviet films in our country's best cinemas, and the readmittance of [the banned publication] SPUTNIK, as well as the showing of the film "Repentance." Wrong decisions must be reversed, and also within our association.

The presidium of the association calls on all members to resolutely take part in our country's social dialogue by means of their films and programs, as if the further existence of socialism were to depend solely on their work. This is the only way to regain attention and—in the long run—confidence.

Modrow Sees Necessity to 'Close Ranks'

AU2410210989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Oct 89 p 4

[ND report: "Let Us Start the Discussion!"]

[Excerpts] After the speech of Comrade Egon Krenz—the text of which NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published yesterday—several comrades took the floor before Krenz's speech was confirmed. [passage omitted]

Comrade Hans Modrow started by mentioning the necessity of debate in the Central Committee, and said that the party should know how we think about these issues and that we have discussed them here. One must realize that the speech by Egon Krenz can be the basis for progress. "We will be able to start a political offensive with it." At the same time one must have clear ideas as far as time is concerned. If one cannot agree on specific datelines now, things will not turn out well, he said. Using examples from the work of the media, Comrade Modrow expressed the view that truth must be sought in

dialogue, and that it must not be announced in advance. Comrade Krenz is right when he demands: We must have discussion and we must conduct dialogue—this is the atmosphere we need. Moreover, it is also necessary to close ranks. Comrade Modrow also pleaded for the setting up of working groups. One must not permit the emergence of doubts concerning our readiness for dialogue and our well-balanced approach to problems. [passage omitted]

Readers' Letters Discuss Topical Problems

AU2410121389

[Editorial report] On 18 October several GDR dailies—NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, NEUE ZEIT, and BERLINER ZEITUNG—publish readers' letters, totalling some 2,400 words, discussing topical problems, the results of the session of the Presidium of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] and the 11 October statement of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on page 3, under the headline "Suffering under the Carelessness of Others?" carries readers' letters, totalling 800 words, welcoming the recent Politburo statement and discussing the implementation of the performance principle, the reasons for current problems, and the need for participation in decisionmaking.

One reader writes: "Of course, we must not underestimate the ideological attack by imperialist circles. However, I want to stress with emphasis that it is necessary to seriously look for the reasons [why many young people leave the GDR] in our own country."

Another one says: "I am 23 years old and a member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. I am also in favor of reforms and changes, but only of such that make socialism more attractive. I do not support reforms and changes which aim at a reintroduction of the capitalist system. I am in favor of talking to all forces, which want to improve life in socialism."

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German on page 1, under the headline "Forward in Awareness of Our Power, Our Strengths, and Our Weaknesses," carries readers' letters, totalling 900 words, discussing the results of the recent session of the CDU Presidium. The letters generally welcome and approve of the results of the CDU Presidium session. One reader welcomes the balance sheet drawn up at the session and writes: "Above all, the statements lack this kind of self-complacency, which we have seen far too often in our society in the past." I emphatically support the call for even more openness in every direction, because this is the actual central issue for success in party work, including social responsibility and proving one's worth at one's own workplace."

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German on page 3, under the headline "Different Viewpoints Because of Different Experiences," carries readers' letters, totalling

700 words, discussing the recent Politburo statement. One reader writes: "I, as a Christian, disapprove of the wave of emigration of the past months; there are friends, neighbors, and colleagues, who leave us. However, it is unacceptable that our media say that one should 'not shed a single tear' because of these people, because these people have fled from problems to other problems. It is also unacceptable that one simply shifts the blame for the wave of emigration to the FRG alone; the majority of the problems are to be found in our country, after all. If one believes the reports of successes in our media, there are hardly any problems; but why then are 50,000 citizens fleeing?"

One woman notes that she does not understand that people do not see any prospects for the future for their children in the GDR, but she admits that "there are deficiencies, but they have to be solved together, and, above all, in a businesslike and honest way."

The "Courage" working group of homosexuals of the Berlin Bezirk Free Thinkers' Association writes that they are "worried about the events of the past days and are happy about the Politburo statement of 11 October. It came late, but not too late, if we start acting today and here. If our state needs everyone and has room for everyone, we, as gays and lesbians, cannot stand outside the dialogue and the active work for change. We pledge ourselves to our society, but we fully support the view that socialism has to be made more attractive. Above all, we have to think together about the reasons for our difficulties, regardless of whether they are objectively founded or are subjective mistakes. Does this not also include more tolerance and acceptance of homosexuals?"

Social Democratic Party Seeks 'Alternative Path'

PM1810110289 Paris LE FIGARO in French
16 Oct 89 p 4

[Interview with Manfred Boehme, one of the founders of the East German Social Democratic Party, by Irina de Chikoff—date and place not given]

[Text] LE FIGARO: You have just announced the formation of a Social Democratic Party in the GDR, which was immediately welcomed by the Social Democratic Party [SPD] in the FRG. Is your political organization an extension of that party?

Manfred Boehme: We are not and will not be the SPD's younger brother. Our path was different, and so are our problems. The East German Social Democratic Party wants to answer the question which is tormenting the whole opposition: how to reconcile a human form of state socialism with market laws. The FRG is not a model. We are seeking an alternative path.

LE FIGARO: Who are you Manfred Boehme?

Manfred Boehme: My career is like that of many oppositionists of my age—41 years old. High school diploma, the army, the party line, and then the first doubts in

Alexander Dubcek's days. I was a member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in which I was responsible for cultural propaganda. I was also in prison. I thought that the SED could be reformed from within. I was also active in the Peace and Human Rights movement.

LE FIGARO: The opposition in the GDR has never succeeded in establishing a structure. Even now it seems to be looking for its identity and seems unable to move toward modernization. How do you explain that?

Manfred Boehme: In the GDR there are several problems which are difficult to solve. In the seventies, dialogue between Christians and Marxists was repressed by the state. This severing of dialogue is behind the SED's internal crisis which has not been solved. Three years ago, all the peace movements inside or close to the Church realized that they were being swallowed up by the state. Moreover, the Church's evangelical message limits political actions. This assessment prompted clandestine circles to be formed. Their watchword was: no structures. That led nowhere. In the 21st century, parties will be a thing of the past, but for the time being they are still vital. We are still hampered by these inconsistencies and controversies.

LE FIGARO: Do you think that the government will strengthen its hold on society or do you think it is still capable of reforms?

Manfred Boehme: Anything is possible. The advocates of a hard line are not only the old leaders. The core also contains the middle-class members of the nomenklatura, who do not want to lose their privileges. The Social Democrats will support any reform, even if it is derisory, inadequate, or minimal.

LE FIGARO: Is there reason to expect an explosion?

Manfred Boehme: More and more people identify with particular opposition movements. They are also beginning to openly take to the streets. We can also expect a sudden swing to the right by the population. We do not advocate confrontation.

LE FIGARO: Do you not think that the opposition, with its search for an alternative path, is much too intellectual?

Manfred Boehme: After 40 years of repression, it is natural for us to witness intellectual ferment. But it is true, there is a danger—the danger of failing to win over the people. I understand those who are leaving, but that does not mean that I support them. And then there are all those who work and who do not have the strength or the desire to think about our ideas in the evening. "New Forum" is the first movement to express its ideas clearly, in terms which everybody can understand. The opposition's intellectualism is one of the four obstacles or problems which we propose to eradicate.

LE FIGARO: What are the other three problems?

Manfred Boehme: First, the problem of national identity. There is a definite vacuum in this sphere. It is impossible to fill it by building walls. The second relates to the existence of 2.3 million SED members and around 900,000 members of the National Front which groups various mass organizations. We will achieve nothing if they are excluded. Finally, there is the question of the workers on whom the opposition intellectuals cannot and should not impose their views. I think that in November, or in December at the latest, the workers will form free trade unions.

LE FIGARO: Let us turn to reunification. What is your position?

Manfred Boehme: It is impossible to build or destroy a nation in 40 years. I think that the distant goal is German unity within the European home. But, in the short term, we can only envisage two Germanies which will freely choose their economic systems.

Gerlach Sees Need for 'New Foundations'

LD2410091489 East Berlin Domestic Service
in German 1705 GMT 20 Oct 89

["Studio 80" program; Interview with Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, LPDP, by correspondent Alfred Eichhorn on 20 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Eichhorn] It is the intention of the party to make the alliance's role in society a more effective one. To me, that is both the outset and occasion of our conversation. [passage omitted]

[Gerlach] The yardstick of party efficiency invariably lies with its share in positive changes in social life.

[Eichhorn] You have in recent weeks been subject to vast reactions in the press in the West. Did you pay attention to these reactions and what do you think of them?

[Gerlach] Yes, I did pay attention, but I can say honestly that unlike others who have done and perhaps continue to do so, I have not looked at Western media first, but have primarily taken interest in what our citizens say, and how our people, in particular my fellow party members, have reacted to my speeches and statements. I can say the reactions from all quarters were very positive, manifold, and affirmative. Besides, I have of course had an interest in what Western media have said, what was singled out to fit their scene and to match their arguments and assessments of the situation. That goes without saying; one has noticed it and so have I.

[Eichhorn] You more or less polemize the term perfection of socialist democracy by saying what's the point of perfecting insufficiencies. [passage omitted] What objectives do the Liberal Democrats pursue, and what do Liberal Democrat and socialist democracy mean to you?

[Gerlach] Well, socialist democracy is something we still have to learn and we still have to shape; perhaps we are

only at the very beginning here. What has happened in our country over recent years has had nothing to do in many cases with democracy, let alone "socialist democracy." That is why, I think, the term perfection of socialist democracy is absolutely wrong, because what is important now is to first of all create new foundations.

I think I agree with Egon Krenz in this respect—who mentioned the need for change in his speech, something that to me not least, and perhaps even in the first place, refers to the democracy that we have to shape. That means long-term subjects and plans will have to be developed, but also that we are aware of what has to be done immediately, not least in terms of democracy. [passage omitted] The multiparty system must be the political foundation of socialist society and the socialist state. I would also like to say quite frankly that our idea of coming elections, local elections, or elections to the People's Chamber is somewhat different from past elections; we fancy them to be more democratic too. [passage omitted]

Synod Deputy Chairman Defends Resolution

AU1910113589 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT
in German 17 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Lothar de Maiziere, deputy chairman of the Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR: "The Resolution of the National Synod of 19 September 1989 and the Questions of Our Time"]

[Text] Some people will ask why I am only now speaking up and discussing the resolution of the Synod of 19 September 1989. The events of the past weeks and days, in particular the painful ones, have made the questions, attempted answers, and secure views expressed in the decisions even more important. As a member of the National Synod who participated in the session in Eisenach from 15 to 19 September 1989, I know how difficult it was to agree on the contents of the resolution.

I am aware that this resolution has also been criticized. Some thought that it is not clear or "harsh" enough, while others said that the National Synod finally wants to develop into a political forum which wants to eliminate the bases of socialism. First of all, it is regrettable that so far the central organ of our party has not dealt at all with the above-mentioned resolution. I do not intend to explain the individual items of the resolution or to describe how it came about. It is, however, important to see whether questions were asked, assessments were made, or perhaps whether answers were found that move the Christians in our country and that have been justified by the events following the National Synod.

Of course, the church must not only be a political forum or a political party, but neither is it unpolitical at any time or in any place. It has become usual to praise church representatives of other times and other countries in particular for their interference in social matters. The examples range from Thomas Muentzer to Dietrich

Bonhoeffer to Bishop Tutu. Of course, our social conditions do not have any connection with those conditions in which these people worked or still work. But it seems to have been decided that the churches have the right to participate in dealing with the social concerns of their believers. The church is not only here to take care of the afterlife, to which some people want to restrict it.

However, the church must take care that, by "interfering" in social matters, it does not deviate from Christian goals and becomes arrogant and self-complacent. Therefore, the resolution of the National Synod clearly admits that we are unable to reach many people, in particular young people, and that we, too, do not know a solution to all the problems that we are facing.

Many questions which were broached in the resolution of 19 September 1989 are now being asked by others. This goes from the question of whether it is justified to expect prosperity to questions of the right to vote, a responsible pluralistic media policy, to the right to travel.

Questions have been broached about the reasons why many people leave our republic, in particular about the internal reasons because we are responsible for them and these internal reasons can be influenced by us more easily than the external reasons. The National Synod recognized the peace and disarmament policy of the GDR Government, it criticized the missing response by the NATO states (by the way, this is a part of the resolution which, remarkably, was hardly mentioned by the Western media). However, it also noted that the GDR's domestic policy does not correspond to this foreign policy.

What is meant is a lack of dialogue with those who have different ideas about the further development of socialism or the society in the GDR than the rulers.

This dialogue has become indispensable for many reasons:

1. Without a dialogue, the rulers forego the chance to convince their subjects of the correctness of their policy.
2. Without a dialogue, the rulers cannot note important experiences of their subjects, which can help them in determining their policy.
3. Without a dialogue, there is the danger that the people lose trust in their government, do not feel that they are taken seriously or unimportant, leave, or adopt attitudes and commit acts which may be non-peaceful and illegal.

Do not misunderstand me: I do not say that there has not been any dialogue at all so far; I have participated in such talks, but there is not sufficient dialogue and so far it has been held only with people with "approved" views, even though the "unapproved" views in particular make dialogue particularly successful. We have to understand that the solution to our problems cannot be found in the streets, in the churches, or in the party headquarters alone. It can be found only in a dialogue among

everyone, which had better not take place in the streets. A party of Christians must know and must demonstrate that the topics of the Synod are also its own topics.

The events of the past few days and weeks clearly show to me the big process of learning which we are facing. We have to learn together to ask questions and to find answers, and this has to be done in a way which facilitates the high culture of arguments. We must promote new thinking without slandering correct ideas of the past, we have to reduce prejudices, turn confrontations into equal partnerships, rule out violence, and ensure to everyone—everyone without exception—the rule of law in all situations.

The Synod realized that this is not an easy path, when it said: "In looking for paths that open up the future, we will have to recognize the fact that changes do not just fall into our laps. They require patient and persistent efforts. Therefore, we will not let ourselves be discouraged by difficulties and setbacks, by misunderstandings and suspicions. Persistence is important. Our faith can us give the necessary courage and strength. We have not been promised that we will be spared the cross but that our Lord will carry the cross with us and will open up a path into the future."

More Tank Regiments Disbanded Unilaterally

LD2410132889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1228 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The unilateral disarmament initiatives announced by the GDR at the beginning of the year were continued today with the further reduction of troops and arms of the National People's Army (NVA). In the Beelitz garrison (Potsdam area) [bezirk], and the garrisons of Gotha (Erfurt Area), Goldberg (Schwerin area), Sondershausen (Erfurt area), Grossenhain (Dresden area), and Stallberg (Neubrandenburg area), the disbandments of the six tank regiments stationed there took place in public. In roll call, thanks were given to the soldiers for the faithful discharge of their duties in the protection of the work of socialist development. The commanders of the six regiments handed over the troop flags to their superiors.

The gradual reduction in the number of soldiers and combat technology was started in April. Tanks of the T-54/55 type are to be scrapped or converted for use in the national economy. The decision of the GDR's National Defense Council dating from January 1989 provides for the reduction of the NVA, by the year 1990, by 10,000 men, 600 tanks, and 50 aircraft, unilaterally and independent of negotiations. Expenditure on national defense is to be cut by 10 percent.

Journalists from all parts of the world had gathered to witness the disbanding of Tank Regiment No. 8 in Goldberg. At a briefing, Col Gen Horst Stechbart, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the NVA land armed forces, spoke about the NVA change-over to a still stricter defensive character. He pointed out

that this resulted from the realistic policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and GDR, and takes account of the changes for the better in international relations.

It was no easy decision, in a world full of deep contradictions, to voluntarily forgo military power which according to its nature and duty served exclusively the safeguarding of peace and the protection of socialism. However, he took into account the strength of the peace forces and is counting on human common sense and its determining strength in the policy of the governments in East and West. "We know full well that a more secure peace can only be the common work of all the peoples and states. Therefore, nobody should resent our concern that despite the accommodation by the Warsaw Pact states on issues of detente and disarmament, nothing equivalent has yet been tackled by the United States and NATO."

All this cannot sway the GDR in its striving for security and peace. "But as realists we consider security, disarmament, and defense preparedness to be inseparable." Col Gen Stechbarth referred to the wishes of the citizens and soldiers in the republic and expressed the expectation to witness on television in the foreseeable future a program on a similar event as today from Lueneburg, Munster, Celle, or Koblenz.

Subsequently, journalists took this opportunity to ask questions. Interest was shown, for example, in what would become of the Army and civilian members of the troop unit. Colonel General Stechbarth explained that there were new duties awaiting every one of them, in the Army or within the national economy. Asked how his division could fulfill its duties with around 40 percent fewer tanks now, Divisional Commander Major General Manfred Jonischkies replied: In accordance with the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact a structural change is being effected within his unit in favor of those weapons designed for defensive purposes. Thus there is a concentration on antitank and anti-aircraft weapons. Exercises, too, are geared exclusively towards defense.

Before around 400 members of Tank Regiment No. 8, the divisional commander read out a command from the defense minister relating to the disbanding of the troop unit. In his address, Colonel General Stechbarth drew attention to this historically significant moment. For the first time on German soil, regiments which are ready for combat, fully trained and equipped with modern weapons, are being disbanded in the cause of peace. Weapons are being taken out of service, not because they have become outdated or worn out, but because the GDR is consistently implementing the policy of making peace more secure with fewer and fewer weapons.

As the troop flag was handed over to the superior, the regiment finally left the structure of the National People's Army. The black-red-gold banner with the service emblem of the NVA and the tactical emblem of the regiment will take its place in the GDR Army Museum.

Fighter Squadron in Cottbus Disbanded

LD2510094989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0922 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—A further significant step was made today in the implementation of the GDR's unilateral reduction measures, with the disbanding of the "Wilhelm Pieck" fighter pilot squadron in the Cottbus Bezirk [area]. Representatives of domestic and foreign media from 10 countries, including 13 television teams, and participants at an international peace camp from capitalist states in Europe, Berlin (West), the United States and New Zealand, currently staying in the GDR, were informed by Deputy Defense Minister Colonel General Wolfgang Reinhold, of the details of the disbandment of the troop unit.

The guests, including GDR Peace Council President Professor Dr Guenther Drefahl and the secretary of the World Peace Council, Ray Stewart, had the opportunity of witnessing the scrapping of fighter aircraft.

'Positive Results' From Talks With U.S.

LD2510111489 East Berlin Television Service in German 1846 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Interview with GDR Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Kurt Nier on the "Aktuelle Kamera" news bulletin by unidentified correspondent in Washington on 24 October—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr Minister, you have only just concluded your talks at the State Department, which apparently has shown interest in the GDR. What results can you report?

[Nier] Yes, it is true that the State Department has shown great interest in the GDR. I can say that in all talks yesterday and today [23, 24 October] at the State Department and the National Defense Council, both sides have shown the will and interest to further develop relations. We were able to state positive results in several fields, such as exchange of scientists, and fishery and environmental cooperation. There are certainly more opportunities in other fields, for instance with regard to the removal of continuing impediments to the establishment of trade relations and also in scientific-technical cooperation.

[Correspondent] Did you also deal with international issues, with European security?

[Nier] We have discussed the whole spectrum of global disarmament, security, and cooperation issues with particular emphasis on questions affecting European security. In the process, it was noted that the existence of two German states is an indispensable factor for peace and security in Europe.

FRG Party Chairman Mischnick Meets Krenz

LD2510085689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0819 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The chairman of the FDP [Free Democratic Party] party group in the FRG Bundestag, Wolfgang Mischnick, was received this morning by Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in Krenz' seat of office in Berlin. Mischnick has been in the GDR on a visit for several days now.

LDPD Discusses Relations With FRG Party

LD2410190389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], received Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the Free Democratic Party [FDP] group in the FRG Bundestag, for a talk in Berlin. According to the LDPD press office, the discussion centered on topical aspects of the international situation, as well as on relations between the two German states and the development of these relations.

Both sides agreed that there has been a change for the better, but that securing peace remains the fundamental question of our time, and that everything possible must be done to ensure that all war, whether nuclear or conventional, be rendered impossible through further disarmament measures. They underlined the fact that both German states, through constructive relations, must make an important contribution to cooperation and detente in Europe, and that the LDPD and the FDP should promote this process according to their specific opportunities.

Gerlach stressed that the GDR remains in favor of beneficial neighborly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two German states in accordance with the Basic Treaty and with strict respect for existing agreement.

The GDR sees potential for shaping relations and cooperation in various spheres more closely and by fixed contact, on a long term basis. The FRG can contribute to this by showing full respect for GDR citizenship.

The LDPD chairman informed his guest of the LDPD's position on the need for far-reaching changes and a broad democratic dialogue on all important matters of socialist development, in the interest of the further shaping socialist society in the GDR.

Wolfgang Mischnick welcomed the change which is becoming apparent in the GDR. He will follow with interest the developments resulting from this, which should not be accompanied by advice from outside the country. He thus reaffirmed the view of other leading FDP politicians, that developments in the GDR are

exclusively the GDR's affair. The FDP will continue to hold and to encourage dialogue with all responsible forces in the GDR.

In an exchange of opinions, both sides discussed the extension of contacts between the LDPD and the FDP.

Saarland Deputies Visit Pump Gas Combine

AU2410132989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 89 p 3

[ADN report: "Saarland Deputies in the Black Pump Combine"]

[Excerpt] Cottbus (ADN)—On Wednesday [18 October] a delegation of the Saarland Diet, which is staying in the coal and energy bezirk at the invitation of the Cottbus Bezirk Assembly, visited the "Fritz Selbmann" Black Pump Gas Combine. The FRG delegation was welcomed by Director General Herbert Richter and briefed on the profile of the largest coal-refinement enterprise of the GDR. Referring to problems of environmental protection, the director general pointed to the good results in the purification of waste waters. Now it is important to implement further solutions for environmental protection.

The visit provides an opportunity for familiarization and the deepening of contacts established in 1987 between the Cottbus Bezirk Assembly and the Saarland Diet, delegation head Reiner Tabillion (Social Democratic Party of Germany), deputy chairman of the Committee for Environment, Urban Planning, and Construction of the Saarland Diet, stated.

The businesslike, frank discussion was followed by a visit to the enterprise itself. [passage omitted]

Krenz Sends Condolences to USSR on Air Crash

AU2410153189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Message of Condolence to USSR"]

[Text] East Berlin—On behalf of the party and state leadership and the people of the GDR, Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, in a telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, expressed deep sympathy on the tragic disaster involving an aircraft of the Soviet Forces in the Transcaucasian military district. He asked that his sincere sympathies be conveyed to the families of those killed in the line of duty.

Communist Leaders Convey Greetings to Krenz

AU2510102389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Egon Krenz Received Further Greetings"]

[Text] East Berlin—Egon Krenz has received further congratulations on his election as general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. He received messages from Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the Mongolian People's Great Hural; Fidel Castro Ruz, on behalf of the people and communists of Cuba; Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party; Sergio Ramirez, on behalf of the government and the people of Nicaragua; Milan Pancevski, on behalf of the SFRY League of Communists; Mengistu Haile Mariam, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party and the people of Ethiopia; Achille Ochetto, on behalf of the Italian communists; Jarmo Wahlstroem, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland; Franz Muhri and Walter Silbermayer, on behalf of the Communist Party of Austria; Grigoris Farakos, on behalf of the Communist Party of Greece; Ole Sohn, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark; Rene Urbany, on behalf of the communists of Luxembourg; Inge Kopp, deputy chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin; Demetris Christofias, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Restorative Party of the Working People (Cyprus); Meir Vilner, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel; Ali Khavari, on behalf of the Iranian Tudeh Party; Mehmet Karaca and Osman Sakalsiz, on behalf of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Turkey; Merlin M Magallona and Felicisimo C Macapagal, on behalf of the Philippine Communist Party; Jaime Perez, on behalf of the Communist Party of Uruguay; and Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states; Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states; and CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev.

Representatives of numerous international organizations also sent their greetings.

Mittag Receives Austria's Schuessel, Sallinger

AU1810152689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 89 p 1

[ADN/ND report: "Austrian 'Technical Days' Opened in the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—On Monday [16 October] Austrian "Technical Days" started in Berlin. Experts from 22 large Austrian companies as well as medium-sized and smaller firms will hold lectures at a symposium in the International Trade Center in Friedrichstrasse.

On the same day Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, received Austrian Economics Minister Wolfgang Schuessel and Rudolf Sallinger, president of the Federal Economic Chamber.

The day's agenda also included talks between ministers. At a press conference, the planned business activities of the office of Austria's largest bank, Credit-Anstalt, which has been opened in the GDR capital city, were discussed.

During the talks with Guenter Mittag, the interlocutors positively assessed the overall relations between the two countries and particularly stressed the economic relations.

Guenter Mittag explained to the Austrian representatives the further stable development of the GDR national economy, which once more demonstrated its high capacity at the Leipzig Fall Fair, is also the basis for the further expansion and consolidation of the economic relations between the GDR and Austria.

Federal Economic Chamber President Sallinger, who has been a regular guest at the Leipzig fairs for years, particularly stressed the continuity and reliability in the economic relations with the GDR. This includes, above all, taking into consideration the structure of the Austrian economy in mutual goods exchange.

The interlocutors exchanged views on how the successful development of the economic relations is to be continued next year.

The talk, which took place in an open-minded atmosphere, was attended by GDR Foreign Trade Minister G. Beil, his deputy C. Meyer, Leopold Maderthaner, president of the Lower Austrian Economic Chamber and designated president of the Federal Economic Chamber; and Austrian Ambassador Franz Wunderbaldinger.

Beil Meeting

AU1810152389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Increase in Trade With Austria Expected for 1989"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [16 October] GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil received Austrian Economics Minister Wolfgang Schuessel and Rudolf Sallinger, president of the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, for the continuation of the exchange of views which was started at the Leipzig Fall Fair.

Minister Beil positively assessed the development of the economic relations and stressed that mutual goods delivery will have experienced a further increase by the end of the year compared with 1988. The Leipzig Fall Fair clearly demonstrated the lively commercial activities between foreign trade enterprises and combines of the GDR and Austrian companies.

Minister Schuessel and Federal Economics Chamber President Sallinger agreed with this positive assessment. They stated that the business relations of Austrian companies with GDR foreign trade enterprises have been characterized by continuity and reliability for years. Medium-sized industry has a big share in goods

exchange. This was also demonstrated very clearly by the latest Leipzig fair, with the results of which exhibitors and visitors were very satisfied. The Austrian Government and the Federal Economic Chamber are very interested in deepening and expanding economic relations with the GDR and are providing the necessary help and support for this. The companies are called upon to develop further initiatives in their own interests.

The interlocutors discussed activities and measures for the further expansion of relations next year. The meeting was attended by Austrian Ambassador Franz Wunderbaldinger.

On Monday the Austrian Credit-Anstalt Bank officially opened an office in Berlin. At an international press conference it was announced that this was done against the background of the very positive development of economic relations between the GDR and Austria as well as good prospects for an intensification of economic cooperation.

University Cooperation With Austria Intensified

AU2410121689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 89 p 3

[ADN report: "Cooperation With Austrian Universities Intensified"]

[Excerpt] Ilmenau (ADN)—With new joint solutions in the field of computer and automation technology, the Ilmenau Technical College, the Vienna Technical University, and the Johannes Kepler University in Linz (Austria) will intensify their cooperation. This was

announced by Juergen Wernstedt, director of the Technical and Biomedical Cybernetics Section of the Ilmenau Technical College on Wednesday at the end of the first cooperation workshop on "computer-aided production—industrial robots" of the three partner institutions in the Thuringian university city. As he reported in a talk with ADN, specific projects were agreed on until 1992 for this purpose. Among other things, it is planned to develop robot controls for flexible automation. [passage omitted]

Fischer Meets Libyan, Moroccan Counterparts

AU0710194289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Oct 89 p 7

[ADN report: "New York: GDR Foreign Minister Holds More Talks"]

[Excerpt] New York—[Passage omitted] Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer discussed the further shaping of bilateral relations with Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi, secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The two sides conducted a comprehensive exchange of views on issues concerning the further struggle for disarmament and detente, as well as on the possibilities of arriving at peaceful solutions to long-standing hotbeds of conflict.

Abdellatif Filali, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco, in a talk with Oskar Fischer, pointed out the need for long-term, planned bilateral cooperation. He stressed his country's interest in regular political dialogue and the expansion of economic relations with the GDR.

Budapest Radio Views Baker Arms Control Speech

*LD2410225489 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] [Presenter] Baker, in his speech in San Francisco, said that the main goals of arms control are the elimination of offensive weapons for surprise attacks and equipping for defensive purposes. I asked Istvan Kulcsar [former Budapest Radio correspondent in Moscow and New York] whether we can interpret this remark as propaganda or as a real program.

[Kulcsar] I am convinced that we can interpret this as a real program. Both superpowers, as well as the other powers, have been trying to eliminate these weapons for quite some time. What the Americans primarily have in mind is the Soviet's SS-18 intercontinental missile, which may be launched from underground silos, but other weapons are also discussed by both parties. The point is that if they eliminate the possibility of a surprise attack, then neither party needs to be afraid of an attack which catches it unprepared. Thus the danger of war or the threat of war arising from a misunderstanding would be significantly reduced. Of course, in addition to the need to reduce the number of weapons, there other issues of confidence and verification which are at stake.

[Presenter] What about?

[Kulcsar] About the fact that the two sides should have the means of inspecting each other's remaining arsenals. The Americans recently reintroduced the idea of open skies, that is, that sides could conduct inspections even from an airplane. In contrast with the past, the Soviet Union has now accepted this in principle.

[Presenter] How should I understand U.S. Secretary of State Baker's formulation, according to which an open and stable Soviet Union and East European, progressing toward Western values, is in U.S. interests?

[Kulcsar] I think that the word open must be understood in both its meanings; that it should be possible even to take pictures from an airplane—open from this point of view—and in addition to this, what we are talking about is simply that the USSR should be transparent, that it should be predictable; that is, it should be a strong, stable power which, precisely because of its stability, will would not create the fear that it would launch some kind of adventurist action.

The East Europeans' stability belongs to the same category. It is obviously not in U.S. interests for the borders that have evolved in Eastern Europe, or anywhere in Europe, to change or that the entire balance should be turned upside down.

3,669 GDR Citizens Cross to West 20-23 Oct

*LD2310105689 Budapest MTI in English
0958 GMT 23 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—Between the mornings of October 20 and 23, 3,669 GDR citizens left for

Austria via Hungary, a border guard official told MTI. The number of GDR citizens now entering Austria is even higher than at the beginning of the exodus, he added.

This brings the total of GDR citizens who have left for the West via Hungary to 43,321.

This year, 11,522 Romanian citizens have arrived in Hungary, more than 500 people crossed the green border, half of them ethnic Hungarians, half of Romanian nationality.

Last week, 156 illegal crossers were caught on the Hungarian-Austrian border whilst attempting to get to Austria, and 101 of those [words indistinct].

Pozsgay Interviewed on Reforms in GDR

*LD1510124589 Hamburg DPA in German
1139 GMT 15 Oct 89*

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—In the view of Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay the GDR leadership will not be able to avoid introducing reforms. This was said by Pozsgay, who is considered in his country the driving force for the reformers, in an interview with BILD-ZEITUNG (Monday edition). The minister of state said he very much hoped that the Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev would not fail with his social restructuring. Asked whether in Hungary a setback was conceivable he said "no." Hungary has passed that point. "We ourselves shall determine our further development."

Minister Horn Pays Visit to Norway, Sweden

*LD2010124789 Budapest MTI in English
1028 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, left on an official visit for Norway on Friday, which will be followed by an official visit to Sweden.

Visits Norway 20-21 Oct

*LD2110223689 Budapest MTI in English
2123 GMT 21 Oct 89*

[Text] Oslo, October 21 (MTI)—At the invitation of Norwegian Foreign Minister, Kjell Magne Bondevik, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn paid an official visit to Norway between October 20 and 21.

Mr Horn also had discussions with Jan P. Syse, prime minister, and Mrs Gro Harlem Brundtland, president of the Norwegian Workers Party.

During the talks, appreciation and support was expressed by the Norwegian side for the transformation process taking place in Hungary.

Mr Horn put forward the initiative that Norway should set up a state investment fund to promote Norwegian Private investments in Hungary. Mr Horn also pressed

for the provision of better access for Hungarian agricultural products to the Norwegian market.

The Norwegian side promised to study Mr Horn's proposal for Norway to promote the establishment of ties between EFTA and Hungary, for granting the general system of preferences, and for having Hungary removed from the list of state-controlled trading nations.

Mr Horn reiterated that should the Cocom [Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy] list be eased, the Hungarian Government would be ready to assume obligations to avoid the military application of relation technology.

Analysing the international situation, it was established that both countries have an interest in seeing the creation of a system of relations in Europe that exclude the possibility of a return to the cold war era.

The Norwegian Government expressed its backing for Hungary's European integration policy, including its membership of the Council of Europe.

Mr Syse extended an invitation to the Hungarian prime minister to visit Norway, and Mr Horn invited his Norwegian counterpart to visit Hungary.

Mrs Brundtland expressed her appreciation of the democratization process taking place in Hungary, and welcomed the formation of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party], expressing her support for its endeavours to become an integral part of the European progressive left movement. She invited an HSP delegation to visit Norway.

Arrives in Sweden 22 Oct

*LD2310105589 Budapest MTI in English
0935 GMT 23 Oct 89*

[Text] Stockholm October 23 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Sweden on an official visit on Sunday.

During the day, accompanied by the Hungarian ambassador to Sweden, he laid a wreath at the grave of Olaf Palme.

Mr Horn is to start talks with his Swedish counterpart, Sten Andersson, on Monday. The Hungarian foreign minister came to Stockholm via Norway.

Holds Talks at Foreign Ministry

*LD2310235489 Budapest MTI in English
1813 GMT 23 Oct 89*

[Text] Stockholm, October 23 (MTI)—Hungarian Minister Gyula Horn paid a two-day official visit to Sweden on the invitation of his counterpart Sten Andersson.

Mr Horn met King Carl XVI Gustaf, held talks with his host, met leading representatives of Sweden's political and business life, and delivered a paper to the members

of the Swedish-Hungarian committee for trade promotion on the goals of the Hungarian Government.

In the foreign ministerial talks, Mr Horn pointed out that the Hungarian leadership, cooperating with all political forces of society, was capable of restructuring the political system independently, but cannot lay its economic development on new foundations by its own efforts. The political sympathy the West shows towards the changes in Hungary should also be manifest in supporting the Hungarian economy and improving its external conditions, Mr Horn said.

The Swedish Foreign minister welcomed the proposals for deepening cooperation between the two countries. Mr Horn said that the Hungarian side expected the full liberalization of two-way trade and asked for the granting of preferential customs and the elimination from the category of states with state-run trade.

Mr Horn handed over a statement by the Hungarian Government on the relations to be established with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Mr Andersson promised to help deepen ties between Hungary and the EFTA, and support Hungary's ideas to later join the association.

The Hungarian prime minister proposed that the Swedish Government, similarly to other governments, should set up a fund to encourage Swedish private capital investment in Hungary. Mr Horn initiated an inter-governmental agreement on the temporary employment of Hungarian labour in Sweden.

Mr Horn invited the Swedish foreign minister for a visit to Hungary.

During his stay in Stockholm, Mr Horn met representatives of the Hungarian organizations in Sweden at the Hungarian Embassy.

Returns From Scandinavian Trip

*LD2410102789 Budapest MTI in English
0715 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 24 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, returned from his official visit to Norway and Sweden during the late hours on Monday.

*** Text of New Hungarian Socialist Party Platform**

Party Platform

*90EC0026 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
10 Oct 89 pp 7-8*

["Platform of the Hungarian Socialist Party" under the rubric "Congress '89—Document"]

[Text] Toward the end of the 1980's Hungarian society has reached a historic turning point. The political system of Stalinist origins has consumed its reserves; the crisis situation that has evolved can be overcome only by fundamentally transforming the social, economic, and

political conditions. Having existed for decades—sometimes in the open, at other times like underground streams—Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] reform forces have opened the path to a peaceful transition from state socialism to democratic socialism. These forces have also been encouraged by the emergence of other Hungarian forces interested in reform, and have taken advantage of favorable external circumstances.

The fact that a historic opportunity has presented itself for the establishment of a parliamentary democracy and a constitutional state based on a multiparty system, and for the reinforcement of autonomous forms of social life, may be attributed to these initiatives. In this way the popular will expressed in free elections can become the source of power, and the nation can control the exercise of power.

2. The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is publicizing its platform so that, after defining itself, it can call on all who agree with its principles and endeavor to join the party, seeking the path to the betterment of society. In our statement we treat the political problems of society in a comprehensive manner, focusing on a broad spectrum of issues confronting society. The positions taken here will not be replaced by more detailed draft programs. Instead, our positions will serve as starting points for such detailed draft programs. Our platform includes documents involving every field of social and party life. They define the tasks for today, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow. These are the party bylaws, its election platform, and a strategic program summarizing the draft programs, to be published later.

I. At the Turning Point

3. Like other countries at a medium or low level of development, our country must face a historic challenge. Thus far we have provided an insufficient response to this challenge. This has been due to delays and omissions on our part. Science, intellectual achievement, and innovation have become the engine for growth and the chief source of prosperity throughout the world. Acceptance of responsibilities in the world market also depends on this. The huge risks involved in modern research and development demand fine-tuned decisionmaking and financial systems and require a flow of information at speeds we have previously been unaccustomed to. Daring, flexibility, independent thought, and high level training are the determining factors of success. Changes which free these factors must not be delayed if we are to adapt to global development.

4. Bureaucratic and dictatorial state socialism have thrust Hungary into crisis. Dissatisfaction is on the increase in all strata of society; confidence in the political sphere is shaken. All of this is intertwined with a deep-seated moral crisis, which also undermines faith in the feasibility of socialist goals.

5. A fundamental transformation of all the substantive elements of politics, the economy, and the cultural system is unavoidable. Above all, the party separates

itself from all varieties of Stalinism and neostalinism. Having made this determination, it is starting on the path of reform, and taking initial steps toward democratic socialism. The party feels responsible for the crisis, and feels obligated to do its share in overcoming the crisis. Nevertheless it will consistently preserve all those ideals and values of the socialist and Communist movement whose attractive power did not fade even in the face of Stalinism. These are the fulfillment of human liberty, the enforcement of society's general will which organizes from the grass roots, self-government, true collectivism, social solidarity and social justice, equal opportunity, and social security. In the course of structural reforms, our party intends to enforce more of these, rather than fewer; we wish to change these ideas from watchword to practice.

6. Our goal is democratic socialism. We intend to accomplish this in a peaceful manner, on a people's democratic path, while maintaining society's and the economy's ability to function. This way we will be able to prevent the crisis from becoming unmanageable, and to establish conditions for national renewal and global development. We can find the path that leads out of the crisis by liberating society's energies, and through the competing cooperation of forces with a sense of responsibility for the nation's destiny.

7. We want a state whose developed and just social policies rest on the results of a capable market economy in which social policies are not dependent on the economy, but are organic parts of the renewal of social production. We want a society in which people feel at home, in which they are able to develop their abilities. We want to establish peaceful existential conditions, and to secure a future for our children. Lessening the burden on families, the young, pensioners, and women deserves special attention, and so does the expansion of work opportunities. Improving the standard of living is our main goal. In addition to raising the material standard of living, an improved standard of living also includes a healthy environment, the improvement of general conditions and public safety, the prevalence of political and human rights, and respect for human dignity. Overcoming the crisis, however, will place a heavy burden on society. While our party calls upon the nation to make sacrifices, the party itself is opening the door to the possibility of calling the platform to account. This takes place as a result of the establishment of a multiparty system, societal control, and openness.

II. We Want Democratic Socialism

8. Harmony between individual and communal development is the foundation of democratic socialism. Our goal is to achieve a communal society built on the voluntary association of free individuals. Our task is to quickly transcend the political and social crisis. This is to be accomplished together with the expansion of both direct and indirect democracy, and with the broadening of opportunities for the enforcement of people's political and social rights and interests. The elementary condition

for the realization of democracy and human rights is the termination or limitation of all kinds of monopolies in the economic, cultural, and political fields. Our party will stand firm to enforce this principle. In the longer term, taking advantage of our given features, we will elevate our homeland to a modern level of civilization through organic development.

9. We intend to secure the socialist character of the social system by placing the free development of individuals and communities in the forefront, and by putting an end to the alienated, bureaucratic, and overly centralized exercise of power which neglected the countryside. We will accomplish this

- Through dynamic social development, which in the historical perspective leads to the fulfillment of human liberty;
- With a solid system of social justice, fairness, equal opportunity, social security, and social solidarity;
- Through autonomous government built on the principle of popular representation, and
- Through self-inspired activities, by developing a participatory democracy, a democratic political culture, and societal control at every level of the political system.

A New Political Institutional System and a Democratic Constitutional State

10. Our program stands for the establishment of the political institutional system for democratic socialism. The characteristics of that system are as follows:

- A democratic constitutional state founded on a broadly based national consensus;
- Establishment of the institutions of popular referendum and popular initiative, the institutions of a direct democracy;
- A balanced division of labor between various organizations and centers of power, and prevention of the over-centralization of power and of policies based on force;
- A freely elected parliament which exercises supreme authority and represents popular sovereignty, controlled by democratic public opinion and overseen by the constitutional court from the standpoint of the constitutionality of legislation;
- A president of the Republic maintaining balance between the branches of power, and a government held accountable by Parliament;
- A judiciary emerging as an independent branch of power, and a supreme accounting office controlling the state's financial management;
- Free citizens, a multiparty system which serves to express political intentions, and a freely competing variety of political organizations and trends;
- Independent social and professional interest groups, and constitutional assurances for the protection of all—ethnic, religious, and other—minorities in the country;

- An open political system, which can be reviewed and controlled by citizens; an open forum for all views not conflicting with constitutional prohibitions;
- Local authority functioning as an independent branch of shared power, the independence of local and regional autonomous governments; the primacy of popular representation vis-a-vis state authority in the operation of councils.

Market Economy Based on Mixed Ownership

11. In the transition to democratic socialism, proprietary reform is a fundamental condition of economic renewal. We want the freedom to acquire and freely manage property. We are convinced that the accumulation of property within limits specified by law does not violate others' citizens rights, and does not represent a return to capitalism. The need is for a proprietary system which serves the interests of economic development and social security simultaneously. The fundamental elements of this proprietary structure are already present in our economy. The multifaceted proprietary structure consists jointly of state property delivering public services, communal property organized in cooperative and social forms, and properties belonging to social institutions and autonomous governments. Thanks to market competition, this proprietary system is the engine that powers development.

12. In the past we mistakenly regarded state property as social property. In reality it was state administrative property. It was unable to function efficiently because it was directed on the basis of non-economic viewpoints. The function of proprietary reform is to render state property social property. Consistent with the law and under societal control, entrepreneurial property concentrated in the hands of the state shall be transferred to new owners. Several tasks must be defined and separated in the course of transforming the state's ownership of enterprises. These are the tasks of trustees interested in the growth of capital, the tasks of entrepreneurs and managers who operate and make use of the enterprises, and the tasks of workers and employees. The squandering of the nation's property, the exhaustion of property on the basis of short-term employee interests, and the abuse of managerial authority must be prevented. In addition, the establishment of enterprises owned by workers and employees must be made possible.

13. Communal property in our economy also appears in several forms. We intend to multiply these forms in the course of proprietary reform. Cooperative property freed from state patronage and based on free and voluntary cooperation is an important form of communal property. In the course of state administrative ownership reform, property owned by settlements will begin to evolve. In these forms of ownership, proprietary functions are exercised by local popular representative bodies and autonomous governments. The sphere of these forms is expanded with property owned by various associations, organizations, and foundations. This process must be strengthened.

14. The emergence of property owned by social security institutions has particular significance from the standpoint of existential security. These institutions have accumulated property by investing premium payments. They should have the authority to dispose over such property for the benefit of insured persons. Investing social security funds in enterprise stock is one method of increasing institutional assets.

15. Private property is an indispensable driving force for growth. Cooperation will necessarily gain strength in a modern economy. This may serve as a means of linking private property with communal property systems, ensuring that its use benefits not only the owner but also society as a whole. The standard by which the significance and acceptability of individual forms of ownership is to be measured is the amount of benefit the community receives.

16. We commit ourselves to a multitude of proprietary forms. We intend to constitutionally guarantee the equality under law of various forms of ownership (among them foreign ownership) and the security of ownership. Adaptation to a rapidly changing world demands the evolution of increasingly new forms of ownership. People and their communities should have the right to freely choose between forms of ownership, and to change forms of ownership. We consider the evolution of new forms of communal ownership to be important. In the competition of ownership forms, each having an equal chance to prevail, let the more efficient forms prevail, and let the unsuitable forms be rejected in every field of endeavor. Efficiency is measured by revenues and by the long-term growth of material and intellectual property. Along with emerging owners of capital and entrepreneurs, and along with their increased role, the sensible participation of workers and employees in management affairs must be assured. Workers' interests in the various trades are protected by trade unions and by other kinds of workers' interest groups. Our party supports their activities.

17. Our economy must become a market economy. Along with this there is a need for the profit principle to prevail in management. The market must also extend beyond products to the fundamental factors of production: the labor force, capital (stocks, bonds), land, and information. A land market based on the actual value of land and the freeing of land leases is an indispensable condition for an upswing in the agricultural sector. In a number of respects, the modern market will organize and improve itself if the actors in the marketplace are able to make a living by satisfying consumer and user needs exclusively. Therefore, it is important from the standpoint of an evolving market that unwarranted state subsidies be scaled down, that the system of subsidies be changed, and that loopholes which frustrate the system of accountability be done away with. Defense against a harmful concentration of economic power must be established in the form of invigorating and regulating competition. We are fighting impoverishment, not the economy. Our party is fighting for assistance to be

provided outside of the economy, to workers whose enterprises have gone under in the course of competition, for the development of education and retraining, and for the establishment of new workplaces. In restoring a market economy special attention must be paid to the moral values of the marketplace. These are preparedness to cooperate, reputation, credibility, and reliability. Let the reputation of valuable work be restored; let thrift become a virtue once again.

18. A modern, predictable, stable, and flexible financial system—the basic conditions for developed market economies—must be established. Forint convertibility is the key to the money market, and to the efficient functioning of the entire economy. In the absence of a convertible currency the appropriate mutual effects of external and internal markets will not materialize, and a real domestic market cannot evolve without an opening to the external market.

19. Enterprises having different forms of ownership must be the centerpiece of the economy. We need policies that are friendly to entrepreneurship in order to ensure diversity in enterprise activities. The activities of small and medium-sized enterprises must be enhanced by instituting economic and legal measures, while the development of successful large enterprises must not be restricted. Equal economic opportunity must be provided for farms and agricultural enterprises. Consistent with Hungary's features, the progressive areas of the food economy are in need of greater developmental opportunities. For this reason, irrational regulatory constraints and the usurious system of withdrawals must be discontinued. The exportation of highly developed and high quality food products deserves support. Small agricultural producer activities must be stimulated. These measures would not only contribute to the satisfaction of the population's needs, but would also improve the foreign trade balance.

20. The state's role must change as the market develops. Just as in all developed countries of the world, the state must establish market conditions, stimulate new technologies, and prevent harmful market effects. The modern state and the market economy mutually presume and restrict each other. State economic policy that expresses societal interest does not contradict the expansion of the market economy. On the contrary, it enhances the prevalence of societal goals and guarantees the stability and transparency of the economic condition. The primary economic function of the state budget is to enhance the development of the infrastructure.

21. At the threshold of the 21st Century scientific, market, and financial information has become the chief energy source nourishing the economy. For this reason, we must depart from the old structure based on heavy industry, energetics, and mass production. A transition to an economy based on information and modern service provisions must begin. We must establish conditions by which society will accept novelties and intellectual values. It would be desirable to accelerate the flow of

information in all areas of the economy, culture, and politics. Industrial and agricultural development and the development of other productive areas depend on the condition of the infrastructure. Putting an end to our backwardness at the earliest possible date constitutes a national interest, and the fundamental condition for international integration.

22. Our economy is in a grave situation today. We must perform tasks related to both the crisis and to the warding off of the crisis. In order to do so we must change the economic structure so that we can adapt to major global economic trends. Simultaneously we must bar inflation and unemployment, but we must not abandon the intent to preserve our international solvency, and must not shrink from novel methods of managing our indebtedness. We must expand our relations with international financial organizations and economic groupings. By placing our relations on market foundations we must effectively enforce our national interest in cooperating with our CEMA partners.

Fair Distribution of Income

23. Our goal is to let income distribution effectively stimulate achievement—thus reinforcing individual interests—while providing more secure livelihood. Let us realistically evaluate the factors that comprise national income: labor, capital, land, information, and innovation. Along with wages, other forms of income emerge: capital gains, entrepreneurial profits, rewards for innovation, and agents' commissions. We recognize the legitimacy of these types of income as long as they present results and benefit society. On the other hand, it is necessary to stringently enforce the laws on income acquired through fraud and corruption.

24. Increased real income is the joint interest of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, young people, and pensioners. Well educated people in every stratum of society, taking risks and seeking new paths, are the engines for such growth. They have a just claim to greater income to compensate for their productive activities. This does not contradict the principle of solidarity and equal opportunity. On the contrary, it establishes a realistic financial basis for these principles. We aim to establish a social policy and an economic and distributive model in which the diligence of citizens and social provisions guaranteed by the state form the basis of a decent livelihood. Not even in a period of rapid economic change should certain strata of society fall behind the societal average in the long term.

25. The tax system must also guarantee fair income distribution. We cannot subordinate this matter to the momentary needs of the treasury. Effects of the tax system which discourage achievement must be eliminated. Interest in more and better work, and in intellectual achievement, must not be eradicated by pressures exerted by the tax system. Inequitable, excessive taxation should not choke culture. The tax system must be friendly to enterprises; it must stimulate the owners of

income to invest, to save, and to establish foundations for the public benefit. Ventures that enhance structural transformation and that establish themselves in crisis zones should be entitled to benefits.

Humane Society

26. A new kind of state role in the acquisition of culture, education, health care, sports, and environmental protection is indispensable from the standpoint of modern and humane social development. These are definitive short-term conditions for social life as a whole and for high-level business management. In the long term these constitute the most profitable investments. We promote a definitive improvement of the level of basic service provisions in the fields of culture, health care, and social welfare.

27. Our party regards the acquisition of national culture and scientific development as the elementary condition for progress. There is need for an immediate and radical turnaround in the financial and moral recognition of intellectual work and activities pursued by the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia should obtain their share of financial resources consistent with the significance of culture. Boosting culture is a task whose program can be successfully developed only with the cooperation of professional participants and public personalities. Our party does not endeavor to achieve exclusivity in this regard. It supports and subscribes to all endeavors which serve educational and cultural development. At the same time, our party is opposed to the subordination of cultural interests to short-term political struggles and to stingy economic considerations. It is the state's basic duty and obligation to ensure the existence of financial and intellectual conditions for the enforcement of the fundamental individual and communal right to education and sophisticated schools. We are opposed to a state educational monopoly. We support endeavors to make different educational programs compete, and to develop an educational system in which autonomy and academic freedom can be realized. Central direction should be responsible only for necessary unifying regulations.

28. We regard the right to health as a fundamental human right. For this reason we consider improving conditions in health care institutions and increasing the share of national income spent on health care to be indispensable. Preventive activities, basic health care provisions, the protection of mothers and children, public health, and epidemiology continue to remain state functions, at increasing levels of sophistication. Taking advantage of basic health care provisions is a citizen's right. To enforce this right, basic health care institutions must be radically reformed; substantial improvement in their level of equipment is indispensable. We support the spread of voluntary, individual insurance of persons requiring health care services over and above basic health care provisions. In addition to expanding financial resources, health care standards must be improved by increased enforcement of rationality and the principle of achievement. The financial foundations of health care

must be expanded by introducing modern forms of social security and by drawing on enterprise resources. Privately owned health care enterprises must find a place in the health care community, so that opportunities available to patients can broaden. Conditions for good health must be established by uniting society and by improving human and living conditions.

29. A healthy and secure environment is a definitive element of the quality of life and social development. Our party is taking the initiative to establish an economic system friendly to the environment, resulting in thrifty energy management. Preservation of the natural environment and of valuable architectural property shall constitute a moral value in our society, one that is generally characteristic of our society.

30. A fundamental task of social policy is to moderate extreme differences in the standard of living. Mass unemployment must be avoided with effective social policies. The number of persons left outside the labor force must be reduced as much as possible by economic strategies that create jobs, such as educational and retraining programs, incentives for entrepreneurs, broader foreign job opportunities, shared workplaces, part-time work, etc. We continue to regard the right to work and social security as fundamental values, but we view these values not as the responsibility of bankrupt enterprises, but as the existential security of people and families.

31. The party is committed to actively seeking a change in economic and social conditions that produce poverty. The preventive measures are rational from both a humane and an economic standpoint. They are not based upon charity. Through these measures we may save ourselves the human toll and huge expenses in the fight against grave social phenomena, such as criminal activities, suicide, alcoholism, and drug use. Along with health, cultural, sport, and social adaptation programs to help strengthen the family and the community, these measures demand changes in individual income taxation and in the entire system of public assistance.

32. The family is the fundamental institution of society. It sustains national existence. Therefore, preference in resource distribution must be given to families with children and to institutions supporting families with children. Realization of a consistent family and population growth policy is an important condition for the historic survival of Hungary and the Hungarian nation. Our party wants women to be free to make long-term decisions between pursuing income producing occupations and playing the role of housewives and mothers (with financial recognition)—or perhaps taking advantage of part-time job opportunities combining the two functions. Women should be given a greater role in public life. Let equal opportunity become a reality at the workplace and in every field of life.

33. Youth is the repository of the nation's and the party's future. Our party platform, and all party activities,

should be imbued with a sense of responsibility for youth. This cannot be narrowed down to just youth policies, and must not be regarded as mere generational, educational, or social issues. We are committed to the idea that democracy, along with reforms and radical changes, coincides with the natural endeavors of youth, that it expresses the desires of youth, and that at the same time it constitutes a pledge for a secure future for youth. State administered child and youth policies should be organic parts of the government's social policies, and should serve to change conditions for children and young people. It is our urgent task to improve their chances of obtaining apartments and to expand job opportunities for those who have completed their education.

34. We are committed to resolving the problems of the elderly, and to increasing their recognition and role in society. Changing the pension system is a task that cannot be delayed. Everyone should be entitled to a basic pension as a matter of citizen's rights, regardless of past work performed. On the other hand, different levels of achievement must also be taken into consideration; basic pensions should be supplemented by pensions accrued as a result of work performance. In addition, the expansion of a voluntary pension system paid for by individuals is also desirable. For the sake of a peaceful and sensible life for the older generation, the party aims to preserve the real worth of pensions.

35. The contradictions of the earlier developmental and distributive model have accumulated in the form of a neglected Hungarian countryside, uneven development of individual regions, and backwardness in certain parts of the country. We intend to clearly depart from the model which withdrew and centralized the resources produced in various parts of the country. We speak up for the interests of the countryside and for its autonomy and economic upswing. In changing the council system, unevenly distributed county subsidies should be discontinued. Every community in need should establish an independent council and economic, cultural, health care, and commercial institutions.

III. The New Socialist Party

36. The establishment of the MSZP represents the most important step and pledge in our reform endeavors. Our party intends to function as a modern socialist political movement, in the framework of constitutional competition with the rest of the parties, and as an alliance of platforms. Our party respects the national will expressed in elections; at the same time, like our competitors, we endeavor to achieve a governing position without the use of force. Our new political organization is:

—A left-wing socialist party which follows the synthesis of basic lasting socialist and communist principles, and pursues the goals of a humane society, friendly to the environment, and capable of development. Its intellectual roots reach back to the Marxist ideological

system, however it is open to any scientifically established thought. The party wishes to enlist as its members all those who, regardless of their outlook on the world, are able to actively support the party's political platform;

- A people's party; it represents the interests of an overwhelming majority of society—primarily of physical laborers and white-collar workers making a living with their work—and defines those interests as political will;
- A reform party, which concentrates its efforts on the epochal tasks of the present—structural reforms and a peaceful transition to democracy. While seeking a way out of the present crisis, the party is already beginning to prepare the transition into the next century's civilization and a new community of nations. It is committed to, and is the initiator of, Hungarian national renewal and the realization of a communal and welfare society. In this way it will become
- The nation's party, which links the caring for and further development of the values of the Hungarian people and national and ethnic minorities in Hungary with international solidarity, and which accepts responsibility for the protection of the political and cultural interests of Hungarians residing abroad;
- A democratic party, a party that belongs to its membership. It rejects democratic centralism, but preserves its capacity for unity of action; enforces democratic principles in its internal structure and organization; and enforces the principles of self-organization, creative debate, freedom of its platform, and the principle that the membership controls every elected body within the movement.

IV. Our Place in the World

37. As part of the world's progressive, democratic forces, we wish to contribute to the resolution of the world's problems which exist at the end of this century. We are embarking on new paths, but at the same time we are facing ourselves and our past. There is no historical precedent for a transition from dictatorial state socialism to democratic socialism based on a market economy. Therefore, we would not be able to approach our goal by copying alien models or by applying abstract ideologies. Nevertheless, we intend to utilize international experience as a resource.

38. We have no hopes of approaching the main trend in global development unless we reassess and transform our system of economic relations. We want to achieve mutually advantageous political and economic relations with every country, and with every integrating and cooperative organization. At the same time, we urge a deep-seated reform of CEMA, the proliferation of mercantile and monetary conditions that reflect the true value of products and services, and the closest possible linkage with the world's developed and dynamically developing regions. We feel that it is necessary to establish a fair international economic order.

39. Unless we intend to become the unskilled laborers and poor relatives of developed Europe, and unless we agree to be pushed to the periphery of progress as victims of a dissimilar industrial civilization, we must base our strategy on education, developed service provisions, and scientific production. Knowledge intensive production, on the other hand, demands cultured leaders and a new social structure. We want to proceed, together with the world's developed countries, in the establishment and application of the achievements of a new civilization. We want to become part of the international economic and scientific discourse, in culture and in the everyday lives of our people.

40. Our party wants an independent Hungary. It encourages the government to consistently represent Hungary's interests in international life. Our party regards the sovereignty and equality of states, the prohibition of the use of force, the peaceful resolution of disputes, and the development of friendly relations between nations as fundamental standards. Our party intends to support foreign policy endeavors which have increased international respect for Hungary, the establishment of international conditions which favor cooperation, the solidification of confidence, and the full enforcement of human rights. Our party is guided by the recognition that national interests can be enforced only with the careful weighing of international realities and with the observance of the country's contractual obligations.

41. We are convinced that an undisturbed and balanced relationship with the Soviet Union remains in Hungary's national interest. The similarity of our endeavors nurtures the hope that our relations will evolve into voluntary cooperation between equals freely choosing their own social systems.

42. Our party endeavors to move the still existing systems of alliances from confrontation to rapprochement. We support all political and military measures to strengthen relaxation in Europe. It is our goal that NATO and the Warsaw Pact be rendered superfluous and subject to liquidation in this century. As a member of the Warsaw Pact, Hungary intends to independently initiate the advancement of agreements between the blocs, the deepening of confidence, and the freeing of relations between the states from ideological differences. We regard the internal reform of CEMA, the democratization of the organization, and the strengthening of the defensive character of the military doctrine as timely tasks. We are convinced that belonging to the alliance system must not be the basis for interference in the domestic affairs of the states.

43. Our party is convinced that our country's security can be guaranteed with our system of international relations, beyond our membership in the alliance system. Our defense policy is based on the principles of economic feasibility and adequate defense. Our party supports the implementation of Hungarian military reform at the earliest possible date. It is our firm view that the

Hungarian Army must be deployed according only to constitutional provisions, both within and outside of the country.

44. We intend to contribute to the process of uniformity in Europe. Hungary's development depends primarily on the future of Europe. Our continent's security cannot be based on arms; it must be based on political, economic, and cultural cooperation, on direct human relations, and on confidence. Our party supports the idea that all foreign military forces be removed from the territories of European states, and that Soviet troops stationed in Hungary be withdrawn as part of the disarmament process. We propose that the Hungarian state continue to take part in the fulfillment of the Helsinki process. Our party sincerely desires to see unity and improved and deeper relations among nations along the Danube. Our party is convinced that the real interests of people residing in this region are not served by the changing of state boundaries, but by the opening of those boundaries.

45. It is our fundamental moral obligation to speak up in the interest of human rights, equal rights for minorities, and the protection and full enforcement of minority rights in Hungary and everywhere in the world. Our party takes a firm stand regarding the fulfillment and realization of the individual and collective nationality and minority rights of Hungarians residing beyond our borders; it condemns the violation of such rights, regardless of where such violations take place. Our party will do everything possible for national ethnic minorities in Hungary to enjoy cultural autonomy and political participatory rights consistent with international standards. We must deal with the problems of Gypsies in a distinguished manner, supporting their initiatives for their own benefit. We count on the active support of Hungarians throughout the world in the democratic renewal process of Hungarian society. We aim at further improving their relations with the homeland.

46. The MSZP, as an organic part of the European Left, is prepared to cooperate with every democratic force which feels responsible for the future of Europe—without limitations based on their outlook, but primarily with communist, socialist, social democratic, and other left-wing movements, with novel environmental protection movements, and with youth, peace, and women's movements. We intend to build our party relationships upon undiminished independence and equality, with full freedom of thought and action for every participant. We want to preserve our diverse relations with the parties of the international Communist movement. Our distinguished interest in social democratic experience is nurtured by common traditions and by the significant achievements of that movement. We are also seeking areas of cooperation with bourgeois political forces. We have high regard for progressive bourgeois humanist efforts in the interest of peace, democracy, and equal economic relations, and are prepared to adopt those of their values which prove to be lasting.

We are convinced that we will be able to follow our chosen path, thereby serving Hungary's prosperity and our nation's uplift.

Bylaws

90EC0026 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
10 Oct 89 pp 8-10

["Bylaws of the Hungarian Socialist Party" under the rubric "Congress'89—Document"]

[Text]

I. The Party's Goals, Character, and Basic Operational Rules

1. Name of party: Hungarian Socialist Party. Domiciled in Budapest.

2. As a political organization, the party operates in the Marxist spirit, which fully accepts the universal principles of human development, humanism, freedom, and democracy. It continues the time tested traditions of the socialist and Communist movements, and espouses principles of solidarity, social justice, and respect for work that creates value.

The party builds on the historical traditions and values of the Hungarian nation; it is one of the heirs of the best endeavors in Hungarian progression, of the ideals of homeland and of progress, and of the idea that the nations residing along the Danube are a community sharing a common fate. With its activities the party intends to serve the nation as a whole.

The party is the party of those who earn an income from their work, of small entrepreneurs, and of our fellow compatriots of the Hungarian and other nationalities. The party relies on members of various generations, and counts on the support of both men and women.

The party's goal is the achievement of a democratic socialist society.

The party wants people to have existential security, to freely exercise their human and citizen's rights, to develop their abilities, and, by relying on these, to prosper under the most humane conditions that can be achieved under society's prevailing level of development. The purpose of party activities is for an independent and democratic Hungary to become a country of balanced development, advantageously exploring opportunities offered by the global economy. The party promotes cooperation among nations on an equal footing, and proclaims solidarity with all those who struggle for their freedom, rights, and progress in the world.

The party operates in the framework of the constitution, respects laws, and enforces the will of its members. It does not aim for exclusive power. It offers cooperation and alliance with all political forces prepared to work

together to uplift the nation. The party is openly receptive to any ideal or initiative which serves progress and advances peace among people and harmony between people and nature. The MSZP regards itself as an organic part of the international workers movement and the European Left. It intends to maintain close and organic relations with the left-wing parties of Central and Eastern Europe that endeavor to accomplish reform, as well as with the world's reform Communist, socialist, and social democratic parties.

Basic Operating Principles of the Party

3.1. Volunteerism, including the free choice of joining or leaving the party, and pursuing activities within the community.

3.2. Party members' freedom of conscience, expression, and action. This extends to the freedom of organizing, establishing collectives, and joint political action.

3.3. Democracy, i.e. the will of the membership, is the source of every decision and action in the party.

3.4. Joint action in the name of solidarity, common principles, and political goals.

3.5. Tolerance toward different views, opinions, and trends manifested within the party and in society.

3.6. Openness of party activities toward the entire society with regard to political issues, and toward the membership concerning internal party affairs.

3.7. Functional order for expressing the membership's will. To enforce their joint will, party members assembled in basic organizations may establish elected bodies, determining and respecting the decisionmaking authority of such bodies.

II. Party Members

4.1. Any Hungarian or non-Hungarian citizen age 17 or older who accepts the party platform and bylaws, whose right to do so is not restricted by law, and who is accepted by a basic organization may be a member of the party.

4.2. A party member cannot simultaneously be a member of another party.

4.3. Applicants for party membership may submit statements requesting membership to any basic organization. A member relationship is established if the membership does not object to the applicant.

4.4. Membership may be interrupted or suspended.

4.5. Party membership terminates upon resignation, exclusion, or if arrears are incurred in the payment of membership dues for a 3-month period. (The latter provision is suspended for the period of reorganization lasting between 3 to 6 months, beginning with the

confirmation of party membership.) A party member may be excluded only on the basis of a disciplinary proceeding.

4.6. A person leaving or excluded from the party may rejoin the party after 1 year.

4.7. A person conveying an intent to become a supporting member in any basic organization may become a supporting member, provided that the basic organization accepts the application and the applicant is not a member of another Hungarian party.

4.8. Separate rules shall specify the proceedings related to membership.

5.1. Every party member has an equal right to

(a) Obtain information and receive accurate information concerning the workings of the party, its bodies, and organizations;

(b) Participate in actions and political activities organized by the party;

(c) Freely express his views within the party both verbally and in writing, criticize the activities of any organ or member of the party, participate in debates, and receive a response to his remarks within 30 days;

(d) Learn about recommendations made regarding his person and express views concerning such recommendations;

(e) Begin political initiatives within the party, and join the initiatives of others;

(f) Freely choose the basic organization to which he wants to belong, and the collective of party members in which he wants to perform political work;

(g) Establish political relations with any member, collective, or organ of the party;

(h) Become a nominee for any party function, unless otherwise provided by law;

(i) Participate in decisions on personal issues and in the political control of persons directly or indirectly elected by the members;

(j) Participate in his election district in the selection of party nominees for representative and for council member;

(k) Seek and receive the protection of the party in every instance when unfounded charges and disadvantages occur as a result of his political activities;

(l) Learn about party property, finances, and resources; utilize the party's material and technical means in pursuit of the movement's political activities; and take advantage of training opportunities and services provided by the party.

5.2. Party members shall

(a) Manifest responsible, honest conduct in their work, in public life, and in their human relations;

(b) Propagate the party platform, defend the party's interests, and enforce its bylaws; and participate in the implementation of resolutions insofar as they are applicable to members;

(c) State minority views in public in the form of minority

views;

- (d) Have a sense of solidarity with their comrades;
- (e) Regularly pay membership dues;
- (f) Fulfill agreed to assignments;
- (g) Abstain from supporting political actions which cannot be reconciled with the party's national and local interests;
- (h) Not seek legal recourse outside the party concerning disputes with the party, until avenues of recourse available within the party are exhausted.

5.3. Party members may be held accountable for their political actions only if the party forum having jurisdiction has taken a contrary position concerning the action prior to the action.

6. Party member collectives have a right to cooperate with other social and political organizations while keeping in mind the party's interests.

III. Principles of Decisionmaking

7.1. Party member collectives—basic organizations, local party organizations, etc.—express and enforce the membership's will directly (at a membership meeting, joint membership meeting, by party vote), or through party bodies elected by them. Decisions are reached by a simple majority of those present and eligible to vote, provided that those eligible to vote received timely notice of the date, place, and subject matter of the decision.

7.2. Any minority view enjoying the support of at least 10 percent of the participants in the course of a decision shall be stated along with the decision.

Political Initiative

8.1. Party members and their collectives have a right to present political initiatives to the members, collectives, and elected bodies of the party. They have a right to report and to reconcile their position. In case of a joint position, they may act jointly in the interest of gaining acceptance of that position. The right of initiative extends to any issue, including personal matters.

8.2. If an initiative is supported by at least 10 percent of the registered party members in a given collective or region, or is supported by at least 25 percent of the party body functioning in that collective or region, the party body having jurisdiction must place the initiative on the agenda, and must take a position concerning the initiative with the participation of those who proposed the initiative.

Elections Within the Party and the Basic Principle of Recall

The right to be nominated or elected is restricted only as a result of conflict of interest specified by law or in the bylaws.

9.1. Any party member may be elected to any party office. Laws and the bylaws contain separate provisions concerning conflict of interest with respect to individual offices.

9.2. Every party member has the right to participate directly or through delegate(s) in the nomination and election of the leaders of his own collective and the officers of his elected party body.

9.3. Party members have a right to be aware of nominees' views prior to casting votes for such nominees. Nominees must be given equal opportunity to express their views. The nominee and the collective nominating the candidate have the right to enlist supporters.

9.4. Factions openly operating within the party shall be represented in the election of delegates and representative bodies in numbers proportionate to the support they enlist.

9.5. Terms of office for members of elected bodies and for all offices shall be determined by the electing party forum. Mandates may be discontinued during terms of office by a call for new elections, resignations, recalls, or relief from duty.

9.6. Elected officials may be recalled by their electors.

9.7. The nominating process is open to party members entitled to vote. Nominations are made by open ballot. In elections, voting takes place by secret ballot.

9.8. It is the right of party members to control the purity of elections. Complaints related to elections will be adjudicated by a committee independent of the persons involved in the elections.

9.9. No party body may bring itself up to its full numbers through cooptation.

9.10. The party's election rules provide procedures that may be applied in the course of elections.

9.11. Party members may at most hold two party offices simultaneously. These must not involve the same functions at different levels.

Party Vote

10.1. The party membership directly expresses its will through party votes. A party vote may be called for on any issue amenable to clear adoption or rejection.

10.2. The elected party body having jurisdiction shall order a party vote within 30 days from the date of an initiative, provided that the initiative is supported by at least 10 percent of registered party voters within the area of jurisdiction, or by at least 25 percent of the organizational bodies operating in the region.

10.3. A call for a party vote must be issued with sufficient time allowed for the weighing of the issue subject to party vote. Those who initiated the party vote, and any party member or collective, have the right to

present arguments before the party public in support of positions on the issue subject to vote.

10.4. Procedures for the ordering and conduct of party voting are contained in separate rules.

IV. Party Structure

11.1. The party is the political collective of members, encompassing all party organizations.

11.2. It is the duty of elected bodies to serve their electors, express the majority will, and reach decisions within the limits of authority delegated to them by their electors. Elected bodies shall promote unity of action based on these decisions, shall represent the party in public life and international relations, shall enhance cooperation between other basic organization collectives and party members, and shall ensure the enforcement of the rights of the party membership and the conditions for fulfilling their agreed-upon obligations.

11.3. Elected bodies may establish working committees.

Basic Organizations

12.1. Basic organizations are the primary collectives of party members. A minimum of three members can form a basic organization. A basic organization must report its establishment to the regional party body having jurisdiction.

12.2. Party members and elected bodies may initiate the establishment of basic organizations within legal limitations, pursuant to any organizing principle. Organization on the basis of prevailing representative or council member election districts in residential areas is recommended.

12.3. The basic organization elects a secretary, a treasurer, and leadership as needed. The membership shall receive reports in regular intervals from these officials.

12.4. Party groups may operate within basic organizations. Party groups elect a steward.

12.5. A membership meeting is the forum for basic organizations and carries full authority. Only a membership meeting can produce resolutions and render decisions or take positions on personal matters. It has exclusive authority to take positions in debates concerning new members. The membership meeting carries out investigations regarding violations of party discipline, and pronounces party punishment on the basis of such findings.

12.6. Several basic organizations may establish common party organs and elected bodies for the purpose of combining efforts, streamlining activities, and representing positions. The functions, authority, vested rights, officers, and operational conditions of such common organs and elected bodies shall be established by the associated basic organizations at a joint meeting or by their representatives at a meeting of delegates.

12.7. In the event that the activities of a basic organization violate bylaws provisions, the functioning of that basic organization may be suspended or discontinued by the National Conciliation Committee. Basic organization members may also propose and decide to discontinue a basic organization.

Local Party Organizations

13.1. Basic organizations may unite in local party organizations according to their areas of operation (municipal, city, district, election district, etc.). A local party organization may consist of a single basic organization.

13.2. If local party organizations unite on a voluntary basis, the united organization shall be regarded as the local party organization.

13.3. Local party organizations are independent.

(a) Local party organizations may decide upon political action. Such decisions must not counter the party platform and bylaws or the authority defined by the establishing organizations.

(b) Local party organizations may decide on which candidate to recommend for nomination to local popular representative bodies within their respective jurisdictions. Within local party organizations as referred to in section 2 above, whose jurisdiction extends to several settlements, this authority is exercised by the basic organizations directly involved in the local council elections.

(c) Local party organizations may recommend candidates for National Assembly representatives within their respective areas of jurisdiction.

13.4. The highest forum of a local party organization consisting of several basic organizations is the joint membership or delegates meeting; these meetings determine the structure of the leading organ of the local party organization, its budget, the hiring of elected party officials, and the operation of a specialized apparatus.

Local meetings of delegates must be convened as necessary, but at least once a year.

13.5. It is the function of the leading organ of the local party organization to streamline the activities of basic organizations assembled in a local party organization, to organize joint political actions, and to formulate common positions regarding issues involving the party membership as a whole.

A leading organ may be one of the following:

(a) A party committee without an executive organ. Its chairman and officers are elected by a joint membership or delegates meeting. Additional party committee members shall be elected by a joint membership meeting, or—in proportions determined by the meeting of delegates—by groups of delegates from the basic organizations' meeting of delegates, or by the meeting of delegates.

(b) Steering committee and presidium. Members of the steering committee shall be delegated by basic organizations, by the party's council member group(s), and by party member groups functioning in party sections.

The chairman, officers, and additional presidium members of the local party organization shall be elected by a meeting of delegates. The chairman of the local party organization also holds the office of steering committee chairman. Remaining members of the presidium cannot become simultaneous members of the steering committee.

(c) Party bodies (the council of secretaries or the coordinating council) having the character of associations. The secretaries and representatives of basic organizations which form a local party organization may form a local party body with the character of an association. This party body elects its own chairman and officers.

13.6. The joint membership or delegates meeting may establish a conciliation committee to protect the rights of party members and to judge disputed issues, grievances, and appeals. The chairman and members of the conciliation committee are elected by a joint membership or delegates meeting. Members of the conciliation committee must not fill any other elective party office and may not serve as employees of the party. The functions and jurisdiction of conciliation committees shall be specified in separate regulations.

13.7. The joint membership or delegates meeting may elect a financial control committee to audit the management of funds. The functions and jurisdiction of the financial control committees shall be specified in separate regulations.

14. Regional party organs—county, Budapest, and other organizations (hereinafter: regional party organs).

14.1. A regional party conference composed of delegates of local party organizations may be convened.

14.2. Local party organizations at the party conference may establish regional party organs. The function of these organs is to streamline the activities of local party organizations within the region, to organize their joint actions, to take positions with regard to political issues involving the region as a whole, and to serve as liaison with the party's national and local organs.

14.3. The structure, the hiring of officers, and the operation of the specialized apparatus of regional leading bodies shall be determined by the party conference.

Leading bodies may be:

(a) A party committee without an executive organ. Its chairman and officers shall be elected by the party conference. Additional members—in proportions determined by the party conference—shall be delegated by local party organizations, or shall be elected by delegate groups at the party conference or by the party conference.

(b) A regional steering committee and presidium. Members of the steering committee shall be delegated by local

party organizations, by the party's regional council member group, and by the party's sections. The party conference shall elect the party's regional chairman, the officers of the presidium, and the remaining members of the presidium. The party's regional chairman shall be the chairman of the steering committee. The remaining members of the presidium may not serve simultaneously as members of the steering committee.

(c) A regional party body with the character of an association. A regional party body (coordinating council) composed of representatives of local party organizations operating with the character of an association may be established. Such a party body elects its own chairman and officers.

14.4. A regional conciliation committee may be established by the regional party conference. Its members may not hold any other party office, and may not be employees of the party. The head of the conciliation committee shall be elected by the party committee, and its members shall be delegated by local party organizations.

14.5. The regional party committee may elect a financial control committee to oversee the management of funds.

15. Basic organizations, local party organizations, and regional party organs may establish regional associations whose jurisdiction does not coincide with public administrative boundaries. The purpose of these is the representation of common interests and the streamlining of activities. Party organizations establishing regional associations shall provide for the necessary financial means.

V. The National Organs of the Party

Congress

16. Congress is the party's highest representative and decisionmaking organ. It determines the fundamental principles of party policy, establishes party strategy, political approach, programs, and bylaws, and decides over mergers with, and separation from other parties and the dissolution of the party. No other organ may act as a substitute for Congress in these functions.

Congress debates and qualifies the workings of the National Steering Committee, the National Presidium, the National Conciliation Committee, and the Central Financial Control Committee. It elects the party bodies and officers specified in the bylaws, and renders decisions concerning the hiring of officers. In closed session, Congress adopts the financial management report.

17. Congress meets as necessary, but at least once a year. The National Presidium convenes Congress. The National Presidium is obligated to convene Congress if more than 10 percent of the party membership or the National Steering Committee propose that Congress be convened.

18. Congress establishes rules by which delegates to Congress are elected. These rules are contained in an

appendix to the bylaws and are designated as Election Rules. Similarly Congress determines, and an appendix to the bylaws specifies, the permanent procedure for convening and preparing for Congress (the regulation of the number of delegates, and the establishment and functions of delegate groups and working committees). In the interest of maintaining the party's ability to function provisional decisions regarding this issue will be rendered by the National Steering Committee.

19. The method of preparing for a congress is determined by the National Presidium with regard to the following principles and general rules of procedure:

19.1. The National Presidium shall determine the date and place of a congress at least 90 days in advance, and shall make recommendations concerning the agenda to be followed by the congress.

19.2. The election of delegates must be completed 60 days prior to the opening of the congress. Delegate groups may be formed on a regional basis and according to openly existing trends in the party. Through their spokesmen, delegate groups become involved in the workings of committees established by the National Presidium for the purpose of preparing the congress.

19.3. Proposals concerning the congress agenda, and relative to the character and content of documents subject to adoption, may be submitted to the National Presidium until 60 days prior to the opening of the congress.

19.4. The National Presidium is obligated to forward its final recommendation on the agenda and rules of procedure, and document drafts to be submitted to the congress on the basis of prior party debate, to every congressional delegate 14 days prior to the opening of the congress.

20. The provisions of Section 19 are not mandatory for a congress initiated by the party membership. Such congresses shall follow an agenda initiated by the party membership.

National Steering Committee

21. The National Steering Committee is the party membership's representative and control organ between two congresses.

22. The functions and authority of the National Steering Committee:

1. To establish the fundamental political tasks needed to implement resolutions made by Congress.
2. To control the activities of the National Presidium.
3. To take positions regarding issues proposed by the National Presidium.
4. To make decisions regarding national party voting.
5. To make decisions on convening a congress.
6. To take positions concerning the party's alliance policies.
7. To approve the list of candidates for National

Assembly representatives running for election with the party's support.

8. To determine its own rules of order.
9. To establish the party's annual budget.
10. To oversee national institutions of science, education, and information serving the party as a whole.

23. Members of the National Steering Committee:

1. The chairman of the party is the ex officio chairman of the National Steering Committee;
2. Delegates elected within regional units in numbers proportionate to the party membership (100-120 individuals);
3. Delegates from the party's National Assembly representative delegation (15 persons at most);
4. Delegates from party sections (20 persons at most).

In the event that a member of the National Steering Committee is elected as a member of some other national party body, his mandate on the Steering Committee shall cease, and his electors shall appoint someone else in his place.

24. The National Steering Committee shall convene as necessary, but at least four times each year. If the chairman experiences a long-term impediment to performing his duty, the National Steering Committee shall elect a provisional chairman from among its members. A conference must be convened if at least 20 percent of the National Steering Committee membership, or the National Presidium, initiates such a call.

The National Presidium

25. The National Presidium is the party's national leading organ between two congresses. It consists of 25 members.

Ex officio members of the National Presidium are:

1. The chairman of the party. He chairs the sessions of the National Presidium and represents the party in its domestic and international relations;
2. The head of the party's National Assembly representative delegation;
3. The vice chairmen of the party. Except for the chairman of the National Steering Committee, they act as substitutes for the party chairman; one of the vice chairmen is responsible for organizing the party's internal life and for maintaining relations between national and local party organs;
4. The head of the party secretariat serving the countryside.

26. Functions and authority of the National Presidium:

1. To make recommendations to the National Steering Committee concerning political tasks stemming from congressional resolutions; and to organize the implementation of those recommendations;
2. To establish party policies regarding the main trends of parliamentary and governmental work, and to streamline the activities of the party's representatives in the

National Assembly and in government;

3. To represent the party in international and domestic political relations; to maintain liaison and to cooperate with parties and organizations based on the party's international policy and its policy of alliances;

4. The National Presidium may convene a party congress, and may make preparations for party congresses;

5. The National Presidium may order national party elections;

6. To organize the party's internal life;

7. To manage party assets, administer the budget, and report on these matters to the National Steering Committee and to Congress;

8. To determine its own rules of order;

9. To appoint the head of the National Office.

The National Presidium shall not perform its functions on the basis of collective leadership principles. Its functions shall be performed with a sense of responsibility consistent with free personal expression and openness.

27.1. Election method of National Presidium members:

A majority vote of Congress shall elect the party chairman. If, for any reason, the chairman is unable to perform his official duties, a party vote must be taken at an interim election. At the initiative of at least 10 percent of the party membership a party vote of confidence must be taken with regard to the chairman's mandate.

27.2. Except for the elected head of the party's National Assembly representative delegation, the officers and other members of the National Presidium are elected by Congress on the basis of closed slates of candidates. Slates of candidates may be established by delegates, by the nominating committee, and by the party's elected chairman.

Slates of candidates established by delegates and by the nominating committee must have the support of at least 25 percent [as published]. No prior expression of support is needed for the slate of candidates established by the party chairman. A slate of candidates receiving more than half of the valid votes casts shall be regarded as having been elected.

27.3. A congress must be convened for the election of a new presidium in the event that the membership of the National Presidium is reduced to less than half of its number.

The National Conciliation Committee

Functions and authority of the National Conciliation Committee:

28.1. To ensure uniform interpretation of the bylaws to protect party members' rights; to ensure that the functioning of national and local party organs and other collectives takes place consistent with the bylaws; and to ensure that actions taken by individual organizations are consistent with the bylaws.

28.2. To participate in the resolution of conflicts arising among party members, between party members and party organs, and between various party organs; and to adjudicate offenses which violate rules of ethics.

28.3. To take positions regarding grievances submitted to the National Conciliation Committee.

28.4. May conduct disciplinary proceedings in matters involving members of the party's national bodies and the party's National Assembly representatives. To render decisions concerning appeals that challenge the party punishment of exclusion from the party.

28.5. To establish its own rules of order.

29. The positions taken by the National Conciliation Council constitute recommendations to the elected bodies, party organizations, and party members. In the event that the National Conciliation Council finds that some decision conflicts with the bylaws or with a program, it may invalidate the decision.

30. The National Conciliation Council has a duty to report to Congress. It regularly informs the National Steering Committee, the National Presidium, and the party membership concerning its activities and experiences.

31.1. Members of the National Conciliation Council may not

—Fill other elective party offices;

—Be members of the party's National Assembly representative delegation;

—Be employees of the party.

31.2. The chairman of the National Conciliation Committee is elected by Congress; its members are delegated by regional party bodies.

31.3. The National Conciliation Council's work is performed by a secretariat. The head of the secretariat is appointed by the committee.

Central Financial Control Committee

32. The Central Financial Control Committee reports exclusively to Congress. Its chairman and six members are elected by Congress. The Committee audits the management of party assets and the management and financial administration of the National Presidium and party institutions. Once a year, in the course of debating the annual budget, the committee is obligated to inform the National Steering Committee and Congress concerning its findings.

33. Congress and the National Steering Committee have the authority to judge the suitability of the management of party property. The opinion of the Central Financial Control Committee must be attached to financial management information submitted to these forums.

34. The Central Financial Control Committee independently determines its own rules of order and the subjects, methods, and scheduling of its activities. Its work is performed by a secretariat. The committee appoints the head of the secretariat.

VI. National Assembly and Council Party Factions

35.1. Party members elected as National Assembly representatives and as members of councils must form National Assembly and council factions. The National Assembly and the council faction shall function in a manner consistent with applicable laws.

35.2. The faction elects a chairman and a leadership from among its members.

35.3. Members of the National Assembly and Council factions:

- Shall participate in the development of positions taken by the leading bodies of the party in due consideration of the interests of their electors; and
- Shall convey and represent the party's policies and initiatives in the legislature and in councils.

36. Members of the National Assembly and council factions have the right to:

- Seek and receive information regarding all issues from any organ, party body, or official of the party;
- Form opinions and take and initiate positions to be adopted by the representative and council factions, regarding any issue to be decided by votes cast in the National Assembly or in councils.

VII. MSZP Sections

37.1. Sections are party member collectives organized on a voluntary basis. Sections may be formed within party organizations on the basis of special interest groups (workers, cooperatives, agrarian, small entrepreneur, ethnic, etc.). Party members under the age of 30 may organize youth sections.

37.2. Sections may take positions concerning issues dealt with by party organizations and bodies, may express views concerning party policies, and may advance independent proposals. They may exercise decisionmaking authority with regard to their own internal affairs.

37.3. Sections may elect leaders (leadership). Sections of the same character within various party organizations may cooperate. They may establish coordinating councils (committees) to streamline their activities at the local, regional, and national levels.

37.4. Fair representation of sections and coordinating councils must be assured at delegates meetings and in representative and leadership bodies operating at various levels. Sections are entitled to representation in Congress and in the National Party Steering Committee.

37.5. Financial conditions for the functioning of sections and coordinating councils must be provided for in the framework of budgets adopted at given levels of operation.

VIII. The Central Press of the Party

38.1. NEPSZABADSAG is the party's national daily newspaper.

38.2. TARSADALMI SZEMLE is the party's ideological periodical.

38.3. UJ FORUM is the party's weekly newspaper.

38.4. The editors in chief of these newspapers and this periodical shall be appointed by the National Steering Committee.

IX. The Party's Financial Management

39. The party pays for its operating expenses from membership dues, the voluntary financial contributions of supporting members, its own earned income made possible by laws, state contributions, and donations. In the interest of increasing its income and the appreciation of its assets the party establishes enterprises and participates in business ventures within limitations provided by law.

40. Basic organizations are legal entities. Operating expenses incurred by basic organizations are paid for in part by the share of membership dues retained by the basic organization—an amount freely agreed upon by basic organizations gathered in a local party organization—and in part by income derived from other sources (functions, public services, contributions, etc.). Utilization of income is determined by the membership meeting.

41. Local party organizations are legal entities. They pay for their expenses from an established proportion of membership dues and budgetary support, and from other income and contributions. Local party organizations manage their respective properties independently.

42. Regional party organizations are legal entities. Financial support of their activities is derived from contributions received from local party organizations operating in their respective regions, and from contributions and other income. Regional party organizations manage their respective properties independently.

43. The National Presidium is a legal entity. It is obligated to report to the National Steering Committee and to Congress concerning the party's financial management, and is to inform the Central Financial Control Committee concerning these matters.

The cost of operations related to the party movement incurred by the party's national organs and institutions will be paid for from taxed profits derived from business organizations established by the party and supervised by

the National Presidium, from other income, contributions, foundations and public interest obligations, and from a predetermined portion of state contributions. Part of the membership dues may be utilized for specific purposes (e.g. Congress), with the agreement of party organizations and organs, if warranted.

44. Basic organizations, party organizations, party organs, and institutions operating as legal entities must conduct their business pursuant to order specified by law. They may independently acquire rights, and may accept obligations to be charged against their budget. These organizations and organs establish their own budgets consistent with nationally applicable guidelines. They shall report annually to the party forum having jurisdiction and to the party membership concerning their budget and financial management.

45. Congress will regulate membership payment procedures.

X. Party Employees

46.1. Specialized political apparatuses—national and regional offices or secretariats—may assist the workings of elected bodies. The party forum electing such party bodies shall decide on the establishment of such offices or secretariats. The head of such an office or secretariat is appointed by the party body. The head of the office or secretariat shall determine the commissioning or hiring of employees.

46.2. The offices and secretariats of various bodies are independent from each other. The founding bodies have an exclusive right to direct such offices and secretariats.

46.3. Separate rules shall be provided regarding the legal standing of party employees, in their capacity as employees.

XI. Temporary and Closing Provisions

Reorganized as the MSZP, the party maintains the importance of continuity as a legal entity.

47.1. Establishment of the MSZP affects member relationships established with the MSZMP. Therefore, basic organizations must be convened prior to 31 October 1989. Any person accepting the basic tenets of the MSZP's bylaws and platform, and indicating such acceptance with his signature, confirms his decision to be a member of the MSZP.

47.2. MSZP members shall establish their basic organizations prior to 10 November 1989 as necessary and as a result of free elections, and shall begin recruiting members and organizing the party. Membership rosters shall be established at membership meetings, and new membership booklets shall be issued. Basic organizations shall elect their leaders and delegates, and shall discuss the tasks of preparing for elections.

48.1. Section 25.2 shall go into effect following elections for National Assembly representatives.

Sections 40, 41 and 42 shall go into effect on 1 January 1990.

48.2. The National Conciliation Committee shall examine decisions made by the MSZMP as a body, valid as of 7 October 1989. All decisions which cannot be reconciled with the bylaws of the MSZP shall be invalidated by the committee.

48.3. MSZMP documents shall be placed in the archives, consistent with the provisions of the Law on Archives.

48.4. The National Presidium shall exercise the functions and authority of the National Steering Committee until such time that a National Steering Committee is established. This grant of authority is temporary.

48.5. The party's symbols shall be approved by Congress. At present, on a temporary basis, the National Steering Council shall decide on symbols.

49. The bylaws and related rules are mandatory with respect to every party member, party collective, and elective party body. At the same time, the bylaws and related rules have the character of a framework. Based on the principles and rules contained in these documents, party forums with decisionmaking authority may render decisions of their own, consistent with their own peculiar features, and may apply additional rules and regulations.

Congress shall approve the regulations related to and contained in the bylaws. At present, on a temporary basis, these shall be approved by the National Steering Committee.

50. The bylaws may be changed only by Congress or as a result of a national party vote. Decisions contrary to the bylaws are invalid.

51. The bylaws provisions must be interpreted and applied consistent with the Law on Association and the Party Law.

Regulations related to the party bylaws:

- Rules concerning processes related to member relationships;
- Disciplinary rules and rules of ethics;
- Election Rules;
- Rules governing the order of party votes;
- Rules governing financial management;
- Rules providing for the legal standing of party employees in their capacity as employees;
- Rules governing the payment of party dues.

Election Rules

90EC0026 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
10 Oct 89 p 11

["MSZP Election Rules, (Appendix to the Bylaws)"
under the rubric "Congress'89—Document"]

[Text] The basic principles of election, recall, and political decisionmaking are contained in the bylaws. Election forums decide independently on their election, nomination, and voting rules and procedures.

I. General Rules

A party member may exercise the right to vote (active voting right) in the collective to which his party basic organization belongs. Any party member may be elected to any party office, or to membership in any party body (passive voting right), except where conflict of interests exists:

- (Except for the chairman,) a member of the presidium cannot simultaneously be a member of the steering committee;
- A member of the conciliation council cannot hold another elective party office and cannot be an employee of the party;
- A party office holder must be a Hungarian citizen;
- Only party members holding Hungarian citizenship may exercise the right to nominate and to vote.

If the party member is elected to an office or a party body which conflicts with his situation, he must report that fact and must terminate the cause of conflict (through resignation or by changing the situation). The deadline for terminating existing conflicts of interest shall be determined by the electing party forum, in due consideration of the views of the party member involved.

1. Available methods of election:

- (a) direct election with the participation of all party members (e.g. party vote);
- (b) indirect election
 - Electoral forum composed of delegates or party members (e.g. steering committee, party conference,); or
 - Representatives elected by party members for this purpose (e.g. electoral body).

2. A party member may recommend officers to any office, and may support any nominee, including through publicity.

3. All nominees must be provided equal conditions and equal rights.

4. The election of party bodies, delegates, and office holders must take place following a democratic, public preparatory period. Nomination may take place as follows:

—With the support of a defined proportion of members eligible to vote (such support may be manifested in the form of signature drives or other means); or

—Through open vote, if nomination takes place at the electing party forum.

5. The election of officers takes place by nominating a person by name, on an individual basis.

6. Methods of establishing party bodies and electing delegates:

- (a) Electoral slate method;
- (b) Establishment of party bodies (e.g. steering committee) composed of delegates;
- (c) Majority vote.

7. Elected (delegated) individuals may be recalled by their electors. Recall may be initiated by at least 10 percent of the electors, or by the party body, even in the case of a delegate. Only the electors are authorized to accomplish the actual recall (and the delegation of the new member to the party body).

Relieving members of party bodies and officers elected at joint membership meetings, party conferences, or by Congress may be initiated by

- Members of the elected party body; and by
- Registered party members in the region or by party bodies operating in the region.

II. Election Rules**1. Call for elections.**

(a) Elections shall be held

—In every instance deemed necessary by the party body authorized to call elections, or as a result of an initiative by the party membership;

—If the mandate of a party body or officer has expired;

—If the elective office or membership in a party body filled by way of delegation becomes vacant (by way of relief, resignation, recall, etc.);

—If organizational change (merger, separation, establishment of new organization, etc.) so warrants.

(b) Party forums authorized to call elections.

—Decisions to issue calls for election in basic organizations (as recommended by the membership or the leadership) shall be made by a membership meeting;

—The election of party bodies shall be called by the affected party forum. Such a call may be initiated by party members, collectives associated in a regional organ, platforms [as published] and sections operating in the regional party body, or by the party body itself;

—Congress is authorized to call general elections (this authority is temporarily exercised by the National Steering Committee).

(c) The party body calling an election shall submit for debate its recommendations concerning:

- The structure of leading organs to be elected;
- The number (and functions) of office holders;
- The method of nomination and voting;
- The committees preparing the election;
- The scheduling of elections and deadlines for nominations.

(The electing forum—or in the case of direct elections, the party conference—shall make decisions regarding the above matters in due consideration of matters that transpired in the course of debate.)

(d) In calling an election, the conciliation council to which election-related grievances may be forwarded, shall be named.

2. Committees preparing elections:

(a) Election committee

This committee is needed in the case of direct elections, or if nomination is dependent on having acquired demonstrated support prior to the elections. Members of the committee are delegated by party collectives (sections, platforms) operating in the region.

The committee: —Oversees the purity of nominations and the composition of slates of candidates, as well as conformity of these actions to rules;

—Assists in the preparation of nominations and organization;

—Gathers and records slates of candidates and recommendations as to persons;

—Provides for the openness of nominations; and

—Determines the winning nominee.

(b) Nominating committee.

This committee is needed if nomination and election take place at the same party forum. Its members are delegated by groups of delegates and by party bodies from among delegates at the party forum.

The committee: —Gathers proposals and recommendations for candidates;

—Initiates nominations;

—Provides for the openness of nominations;

—Submits its recommendations to the decisionmaking forum.

If necessary, a committee preparing nominations may also be operated.

(c) Vote tallying committee

In the case of indirect elections, committee members are appointed by the electing forum. Its leader is elected by the committee from among its members. Nominees may not be members of the tallying committee. In the case of direct elections, members of the tallying committee are delegated by party collectives operating in the region.

The committee: —Prepares ballot forms;

—Reports on the method of voting;

—Makes sure that conditions of secret voting exist;

—Counts votes;

—Announces election results;

—Provides for the safeguarding of ballots during the prescribed period of time.

The work of this committee is public.

3. Nomination

(a) Nominating rules: —Nominations are public within the party;

—It is the right, and at the same time the duty, of nominees to familiarize persons eligible to vote with the nominee's views;

—Nominations must be closed at a predetermined point in time;

—In the course of the nominations, electors may support several candidates for the same office;

—In the event that slates of delegates or delegate groups are elected, the sequence in which candidates are placed on the ballot shall be decided by the vote of the collective which sponsored the slate;

—The agreement of persons recommended is needed for them to be included in a slate. Any candidate may accept the listing of his name on several slates.

(b) Conditions for becoming a nominee —Acceptance of nomination, and a statement that there is no political or moral impediment to his nomination;

—Support of the nomination by a predetermined proportion of members eligible to vote.

In the event that the needed support is obtained in advance, nominations at the electoral forum may be waived. Persons entitled to vote may propose candidates for nomination in addition to those proposed in advance, if nominations takes place at the electoral forum. The electoral forum shall first decide on the advance proposals, and only subsequently on nominations received from the floor.

(c) Any person acquiring the needed support may be listed on the ballot form.

(d) Candidates shall be listed on the ballot form in alphabetical order.

4. The election (voting)

(a) Rules for voting —Secret ballots are cast in elections;

—Only persons appearing on the ballot form may be voted for;

—In simultaneous elections for officers and for a party body, the officers must be elected first, on an individual basis, and the party body thereafter.

(b) It is the authority of the electing party forum to determine the validity of the elections and the election results.

In the event of a direct election:

—A nominee is elected if he receives more than the minimum proportion of votes, as that proportion is established locally, and if he receives the largest number of votes among the nominees.

If the first ballot produces no results:

—The names of the two nominees receiving the highest number of votes shall be placed on the ballot in the second balloting; or

—Only those nominees shall be placed on the ballot who receive the minimum proportion of votes in the first ballot, as that proportion is established locally;

—The party body calling the election may consider the calling of new elections.

—If a party body is elected on the basis of individual nominations, the number of persons serving in that party body may be established in advance. Persons receiving the highest number of votes in descending order shall be regarded as having been elected. If the number of persons serving on the party body to be elected was not determined in advance, those nominees who received more votes than the predetermined number of votes established in advance by the electoral forum may be regarded as elected.

In the case of an indirect election:

—A person receiving the votes of more than half the number of eligible voters shall be regarded as elected. In the event that the first ballot did not produce results, the candidate receiving the largest number of votes in the second ballot shall be regarded as having been elected.

—When party bodies and delegates are elected on the basis of individual nomination:

—If the number of persons in the party body was determined in advance, persons receiving votes numbering at least half the number of eligible voters may be regarded as having been elected. If fewer persons received the needed number of votes than the number of persons serving in the party body, the nominee(s) receiving the highest number of votes in the second ballot may be regarded as having been elected. In a second ballot the names of persons who have already been elected shall be deleted;

—If the number of persons serving on the party body was not determined in advance, persons receiving more than half the number of votes from eligible voters may be regarded as having been elected.

In the case of a closed slate election:

—The electing forum may decide prior to the nomination and to the vote:

—Whether the slate that receives more than 50 percent of the vote of those eligible to vote shall be adopted, or

—Whether nominees should become members of the party body in proportion to the number of votes received, provided that the slate of candidates was supported by at least 35 percent of persons eligible to vote.

—A ballot is valid if the slate for which the vote was cast can be clearly established. The slates cannot be changed in the course of elections.

—Determining the group of persons elected:

—The number of votes needed for the election of one person must be determined (this number equals the quotient of the number of voters and the number of persons serving on the party body);

—In a sequential order, the number of nominees to be considered as elected from all the slates equals the number of votes received in addition to the number of votes needed for the election of one person;

—If a nominee is elected on several slates of nominees, the nominee shall decide which slate's election he accepts. His name must be deleted from the remaining slates;

—Following the above, the positions in the party body that are still vacant must be filled from the slates, in the order established by fractional votes.

III. Controlling the Elections

1. It is the right of every party member to present grievances regarding the purity of elections.

2. Grievances presented in the course of elections shall be judged by the electing party forum (or by the election committee in the case of direct elections). If the aggrieved person disagrees with the judgment rendered he may appeal to the Conciliation Committee within 8 days following the elections.

3. Grievances may be filed with the party body that called the election, within 8 days following the elections. A response must be given to the complainant within a week. The aggrieved person may appeal to the conciliation committee if he does not accept the response.

4. Minutes must be kept at every electing party forum. Such minutes must be certified by the chairman of the forum, the chairman of the tallying committee, and the person recording the minutes.

5. The chairman of the tallying committee must preserve the ballots for 15 days, or more if proceedings are in progress.

Party Membership Dues

90EC0026 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
10 Oct 89 p 11

["Party Rules Regarding Membership Dues, (Appendix to the Bylaws)" under the rubric "Congress'89—Document"]

[Text] Payment of party membership dues is an obligation that accompanies party membership. It is a direct contribution to cover the expenses of the movement.

1. Method of dues payment:

(a) Party membership dues must be paid monthly to the party basic organization to which the party member belongs.

(b) New party members are obligated to pay membership dues beginning on the date they join the party.

(c) Party basic organizations dispose over the entire amount paid in membership dues; excess revenues received in the form of membership dues, over and above official expenditures, shall be paid in monthly by the basic organizations to cover the common expenses of the movement.

2. Rate of membership dues:

(a) The monthly amount of membership dues is between 50 and 150 forints, based on an agreement between the party member and the basic organization to which he belongs. A party member may commit himself to paying higher dues.

(b) Persons without an income, and all those whose basic pension or monthly gross income is below 5,000 forints, shall pay special membership dues to preserve their rights. The amount of such dues shall be agreed upon by the party member and the party organization.

Party members staying abroad for an extended period of time shall reach an agreement with their basic organization regarding the amount of membership dues to be paid and the method of payment.

While observing legal provisions in effect, anyone may support the party financially or through other means.

The supporting membership's voluntarily agreed-upon support may materialize in the form of financial support.

*** Platform Differences at MSZMP Congress**

90EC0027 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
6 Oct 89 p 16

[Interview with representatives of four MSZMP groups, by NEPSZABADSAG: "Platform Test," under the rubric "Congress'89;" date and place of interview not given]

[Text] What intentions characterize the intra-party trends at congress? How strong are they? What expectations do they have in conjunction with the events? These were the main issues when we questioned four representatives of platforms registered as of 2 October. Unfortunately, the views of those registering their platforms later could not be accommodated for technical reasons. The respondents: on behalf of "Unity for MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Renewal," delegation head Laszlo Udvarhelyi; on behalf of "Platform for the MSZMP," delegation head Gabor Zentai; for the "Reform Alliance," delegation head Ferenc Kosa; for the "People's Democratic Platform," one of the organizers of the delegation.

Question 1. The ratio of delegates endorsing the platform and expected development:

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] I did not make calculations. At the moment I estimate that one-third of the delegates will support our platform. I am convinced that there will be many more to profess our movement's spirit.

[Platform/Zentai] Five percent of the delegates joined since we were established. But our goal is not [expressed in] numbers, but the increase of our influence on still uncommitted delegates.

[Reform/Kosa] According to the 1 October status we have more than 300 registered members. We are counting on a majority of the delegates joining our movement.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] The ideological and political value and effect of a platform is not determined by numbers. Day after day increasing numbers join our platform. On this basis we hope that we will be able to influence the merits of decisions reached in congress.

Question 2. Intent related to the party's future (following a separate path; getting rid of other groups; maintaining unity):

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] Maintaining unity; nevertheless—and this is the pivotal point of our stance—this must not be a monolithic unity, but instead the true, dynamic unity of trends, views and platforms in a party which is built from the grass roots up, and which functions in a democratic manner.

[Platform/Zentai] We want renewal based on the party's mass foundations without compromises and peace-making. In this sense this means a purge in a number of directions.

[Reform/Kosa] We endeavor the establishment of a new party which will spring forth from the will of a majority of the membership truly committed to reform.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] We would like to see a new party that comes about in the course of the congress in which a majority which refrains from extremes will gain strength and will be able to overcome the crisis on the basis of left-wing values.

Question 3. Conditions for remaining together with other trends within the party:

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] We expect the renewed party to clearly disassociate itself from two extremes: from those incapable of freeing themselves from the models of bureaucratic socialism on the one hand, and from those who perceive the future of the nation essentially based on only bourgeois values.

[Platform/Zentai] We could cooperate with reform forces which profess social democratic and communist values. Those who do not want to see a new party, but instead a newly defined party, one that does not request the membership to submit new application forms but instead seeks the adoption of the bylaws and the program.

[Reform/Kosa] We intend to cooperate with groups which accept the necessity of the establishment of a new party. With those who agree with us that dictatorial attempts have thus far lead to a dead-end street, even in their reformed versions. Finally, we would cooperate with groups whose leadership is credible, because it consists of personalities committed to change.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] If a given trend disassociates itself from restalinization, as well as from bourgeois liberal illusions, and if hereafter we can reach an agreement on the main issues pertaining to a new program and the bylaws.

Question 4. Regarding the party's name (should it remain the same or should it change):

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] For the time being we have not seen truly convincing arguments for a name change, but of

course we cannot run a course independent from the results of the debate by making a final decision.

[Platform/Zentai] We are the "Platform for the MSZMP"—this demonstrates our position. But we would not like to see a debate concerning the party's name to cause a party rift.

[Reform/Kosa] Naturally, the new party needs a new name.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] The party should be judged by its new program and bylaws. Compared to these, the party's name is a secondary issue.

Question 5. Description of the platform's support by society:

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] The idea that the MSZMP become a modern left-wing political party of the masses enjoys the support of an overwhelming majority of the party membership. The bulk of the party members are people earning a living with their work. I believe that we have supporters in all strata of society.

[Platform/Zentai] Clearly, at this point we are already relying on that part of the membership which accepts the fundamental principles of reform, and within and beyond that, on white collar and blue collar workers who create new values.

[Reform/Kosa] Based on their interests: the various strata which make a living from wages and salaries, the small entrepreneurs, and on the basis of value choices, the broadest possible groups of society.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] We intend to represent the real political interests of large groups of society which make a decisive part of their livelihood from their personal work. We want to represent them not without them, but with them.

Question 6. Does your platform has a slate of candidates insofar as the party leadership is concerned?

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] Yes.

[Platform/Zentai] Rezso Nyers, the party chairman is our candidate. And furthermore: the election of two new personalities as vice chairman who would be able to convey the feelings of the reform intelligentsia in Budapest and in the countryside, and of blue collar workers and employees.

[Reform/Kosa] We do.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] We did not organize to elevate someone to power; we are not tied to any of today's party leaders. Nevertheless our slate of candidates is taking shape already.

Question 7. The effect of clashes between groups in congress on the composition of government or on other spheres of power:

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] I trust that congress will not be characterized by clashes, but by principled, objective debate concerning the resolution of the country's problems, and about policies which serve such resolution. The "effect" mentioned in the question cannot be ruled out.

[Platform/Zentai] It is in everyone's interest in this country to have a predictable, consistent party whose leadership is honorable. As a result it may become a significant stabilizing factor. This could result in more secure governmental work, not in personnel changes.

[Reform/Kosa] One may presume that there will be such effects. Irrespective of changes, however, we are committed to maintain the continuity of governmental work until the elections.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] Definitely in an indirect manner; if congress is successful, the new party will be capable of maintaining a coalition and to govern as a result of elections.

Question 8. Previous and future methods to increase support for the platform:

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] We appeared at various forums of party audience, and if the opportunity is granted, will also do so in the press. We expressed our views in the course of preparing for the congress, and this will take place also at the congress.

[Platform/Zentai] We stated our views before party and in the party press. Henceforth the arena of our work to convince people will be the chamber in which congress meets.

[Reform/Kosa] We have endeavored to present our political positions openly and clearly before, and we will do the same in the future.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] We are a community of opinions being formed, we are learning the practice of platform alliance without the background of having a bureaucratic apparatus. To a large degree, delegates joined our platform spontaneously, based on our views expressed in person or in the press.

Question 9. Whom would you like to see in your ranks from among the Political Executive Committee members?

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] Everyone who agrees with the spirit of our movement and with the political conduct represented by us.

[Platform/Zentai] It is a difficult choice, because most of these people are unknown. Frequently those we know cannot be figured out. This dilemma must be resolved in congress by the members of the Political Executive Committee.

[Reform/Kosa] Pozsgay, Nyers, Miklos Nemeth, Gyula Horn, perhaps Maria Ormos, Pal Vastagh. If they accept our platform, of course.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] All those who in addition to being committed to reform are also credible. We regard Rezso Nyers as the standard. We continue to support him as party chairman.

Question 10. Prediction as to the winning trend in congress:

[Unity/Udvarhelyi] I expect a victory not of trends, but of policies. Policies which represent the overturf of a structural turnaround, both in a spiritual and material sense. And one that would enable our party to become an influential factor in the turnaround.

[Platform/Zentai] I have this much: exclusivity is impossible. I would like to see reform forces building on the basis of political sobriety and a sense of reality win, irrespective of trends.

[Reform/Kosa] We expect to see forces striving for radical change to win in congress.

[People's Democratic/Fabry] Regardless of trends, delegates committed to reform will "win" in congress. A majority of the party membership and of delegates is committed to reform, the only difference exists in terms of perceptions concerning the extent and methods of reform.

Australian TV Interviews Pozsgay on Future

LD1710110889 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 2015 GMT 16 Oct 89

[From the "Panorama" program; interview with Imre Pozsgay by unidentified Australian Television correspondent; date and place not specified; no video available—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] At the end of last week Australian Television asked Imre Pozsgay to make a statement, because in Australia he is considered today as one of the most credible personalities:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Nearly 700,000 former party members have, or will have, the opportunity to transfer into the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party]. In your opinion, how many will seize this opportunity?

[Pozsgay] The majority, with every certainty. But I do not think that without exception, or at least with a sweeping majority, the one-time Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] members will join it. This would not be too good, anyway. It would mix up, confuse, the political relations, and it would be hard to prove the truth of the fact that we are a new party. For this reason I believe that the proportion will not be small of those who, conceiving communism in the old way, in an orthodox way, will join some kind of communist party.

[Correspondent] Why did you and the reform forces have to make such a big compromise?

[Pozsgay] There was compromise in one or two issues. Such was the matter of party organization in the workplaces. Only, here too, public opinion failed to notice the change that by now this decision was taken not by a party-state and a state-party. For its does not say in this decision that henceforth, too, we shall be the ones to decide whether we stay at the workplaces or not; but what it says is that we would like to stay there, but the legislators should decide whether they deem this correct or not. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Does the present leadership of the HSP reflect merely a transitional state, or will it remain like this permanently?

[Pozsgay] This will be decided by its actions. I believe there are many in this leadership on whom this party can count in the long term. At the same time I do not believe that this congress itself prepared for the long term. For it launched a party organization and reorganization, with a very modern program and statute, but within 1 year or 2, it will obviously have to be reassessed whether we are really treading the path of modernization and whether we have caught up with Europe.

[Correspondent] Mr Pozsgay, what now? What do you expect?

[Pozsgay] What I expect is that the National Assembly which will convene this week will adopt those bills of constitutional law without which peaceful transition is inconceivable; that it will very significantly modify the Constitution, and with this make it possible for every mark of the intertwining of the party-state to be removed from this Constitution. A constitutional state will come into being, within whose framework it will be possible to elect a president of the Republic in a free election, with direct participation, and within 90 days to elect a new National Assembly, likewise in a free election. If we manage to carry out these operations with the active participation of the citizens, then this can be a guarantee for the peaceful transition, but also for our being able, finally, to begin the economic structure change and the reform in a very determined manner, under stable political conditions.

[Correspondent] Would you tell me whether I am now speaking to Hungary's future president of the Republic?

[Pozsgay] Let us say: With a candidate for president of the Republic. And then the contest will decide who will be the president. I hope it will be me.

Pozsgay Defends HSP Formation at Rally

LD1710111789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2300 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Imre Pozsgay has said that at the Congress of the ruling party a week ago, the delegates had the right to dissolve the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

[MSZMP] and to declare the formation of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party]. The member of the Hungarian Socialist Party presidium was addressing a political mass rally at Szaszhalmabatta. In his view the change was initiated from below and the MSZMP's successor party came about in the final analysis, because they want to bridge the gap between the membership and the leadership.

Pozsgay Comments to Press on MSZMP Members

*LD2110122689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0700 GMT 21 Oct 89*

[From the Press Review]

[Text] We have neither the right nor the basis to express disapproval of those who, after 30-40 years of commitment to the workers movement, decide to stay as Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] members because they cannot adhere mentally and practically nor ideologically to the program of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. However, it would be regretful if these comrades were to become the victims of adventurers and extremists.

This was said by Imre Pozsgay who, on the day of the debate on NEPSZABADSAG, [19 October], met journalists and replied to their questions. Here are some thoughts of the member of the HSP Presidium.

The argument with which the assets of the party may be defended no longer exists. The HSP must honestly give an account of these assets; they must be given back to society, but not in such a way that meanwhile, because of this, the Party should set as an objective its own liquidation.

Speaking about the future of NEPSZABADSAG, Pozsgay quoted Engels: There can be no party democracy where a party press, independent of the party leadership, does not exist.

Opposition Leaders on 'Political Provocation'

*LD2110213189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Oct 89*

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The crudest political provocation of the past weeks was the leaflet which, on behalf of the Arrowcross Party, encouraged, with massacre, hanging and similar considerateness, anyone who had anything to do with the policy of the past 40 years; also those who were gypsies, Jews or simply leftwing. It immediately emerged, from the telephone-numbers given at the base of the leaflet, that it was a provocation. After dialing the numbers, the telephone rang in the flats of some leaders of opposition organizations. Janos Hollos speaks with Ottília Solt [member of Council of Alliance of Free Democrats] and Ferenc Langmar [from the Federation of Young Democrats, FIDESZ]:

[Begin recording] [Langmar] We have a very firm idea about who did this, and why it was our telephone numbers which ended up on this leaflet.

[Hollos] So in police jargon, you have a thorough suspicion regarding who made this leaflet?

[Solt] Yes, but I have to say that this house investigation, which the two of us conducted, was a mental activity which any police-investigator could do after us.

[Hollos] Are you suggesting that the police are not investigating the matter?

[Langmar and Solt together] Yes, that.

[Langmar] It is quite a strange investigation—if any is taking place at all, that those who are directly affected, us, are not questioned about what we have experienced, what suppositions there are surrounding us.

[Hollos] So you have not been sought out by the police?

[Langmar] No one has sought me out.

[Solt] I have been visited by the police because I drummed it into one of the journalists who was making enquiries in connection with the leaflet that I expected the police, ex officio, to launch an investigation, and not to wait for my complaint. The next day, a police officer telephoned me and he told me verbally that the police were conducting an investigation, and if it did not offend me, he would inform me about it. [passage omitted]

[Hollos] Why have you undertaken to speak with me? Any one whose name is connected with this leaflet is discredited, no matter what.

[Langmar] Parliament has dealt with this matter, to a very great extent. What was surprising was that while it was an obvious provocation, and while the Interior Ministry obviously is aware of this provocative character, everyone dealt with the matter as if a fascist party was, really, being organized. If I had not spoken to several deputies and several journalists, my conviction is that to this very day it would not have been said in Parliament that the given telephone numbers were numbers belonging to SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] and FIDESZ, that is, that it was a provocation. Our hypothesis is that it was an extreme left-wing communist provocation, which was done by people who view SZDSZ, FIDESZ and similar organizations as fascist organizations.

[Hollos] Do you want to state whom, personally, you suspect?

[Langmar] We have an idea, with 90 percent probability, regarding who did it. Yet it is a supposition, and we do not want to state whom it is.

[Solt] What I consider to be terribly absurd, mendacious and dangerous in the entire, irrational process, which has taken shape around the leaflet in the past 2 weeks, is that in spite of the fact that I have always firmly stated, no matter how often I have been questioned in connection with the leaflet, that even after the provocation I see no trace of an Arrowcross movement being organized here...

[Hollos, interrupting] What calls have come in?

[Solt] Relatively few, thank goodness. If I calculate rightly, there was altogether one call which showed some interest in the Arrowcross Party. All other calls were openly disapproving, or were curious but by no means ready to cooperate. [passage omitted] Now, to continue my train of thought: It is necessary, to very rigorously separate the spread of possibly existing extreme right-wing ideas and ideologies from this leaflet, since this leaflet was unable to call anything into life. The crown of the entire process was the circus which took place in Parliament, that they should manufacture a phantom, an enemy who could be legitimized, against whom it would be necessary to take vigorous measures. This phantom does not exist, I cannot emphasize sufficiently that it does not exist, and the Interior Ministry and Parliament are the victims of an obsession to manufacture traditional concepts. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Presenter] Those who have fallen under suspicion are of the view that the provocation has come from the extreme left. In order to obtain confirmation or denial of this, in the early afternoon we asked Major General Jozsef Horvath, head of the Internal Security Service, where the investigative work stood. Does the Interior Ministry know who is, or who are, responsible for the inexcusable provocation? Peter Borenics reports:

[Begin recording] [Borenics] Here is an appeal—in my hands: "Persistence, Long Live Szalasi!" That is what can be read at the top [Szalasi was the Arrowcross leader during World War II], and it informs us that the Hungarian Arrowcross Party has been formed anew. This was noted down on 2 October...

[Horvath, interrupting] We have known of this leaflet since the 4th. It was distributed in the editorial offices of various newspapers, in the postboxes of private persons. According to our data, there is neither an Arrowcross Party, nor is there a Hungarist movement in Hungary. With regard to the fact that in the past period this has discredited itself in Hungary, I can safely say that there is no concrete political grouping which is organized on such a basis.

[Borenics] What have you been able to establish—who might have written the appeal?

[Horvath] When we received this and analyzed it, the experts very quickly noticed that it is nothing other than a very ugly provocation which was not thought through.

[Borenics] Have you found the person who wrote it?

[Horvath] It was clear that there was no connection, etc, with the parties behind the telephone numbers.

[Borenics] Let us be more specific. It is the telephone number of one of the leaders of SZDSZ which can be read in the appeal, and...

[Horvath, interrupting] And the number of the previous office of FIDESZ, as we learned.

[Borenics] Did you ask them?

[Horvath] Yes, at present a private person lives in the former office of FIDESZ, who also received this kind of leaflet.

[Borenics] There also are other telephone numbers. Have you asked, interrogated them?

[Horvath] We have asked for information on practically every person affected by these telephone numbers.

[Borenics] In your opinion, did one person, or several people, make this?

[Horvath] On the basis of hitherto data, we can say that it was one person who prepared and spread it.

[Borenics] Who was this person?

[Horvath] I cannot tell you.

[Borenics] I have heard that this appeal was written by Roland Antoniewicz.

[Horvath] Again I am put in an awkward situation by your question. As long as we have not questioned the person who is suspected of having committed the deed, as long as he has not spoken, to mention him publicly, to make data public concretely, in connection with his person....

[Borenics, interrupting] But was it, or was it not him?

[Horvath] I can say that we are close to naming the person concerned, but since, at the moment, the person who did it is not in Budapest, and we have not been able to hear him, on the basis of the laws we are compelled not to state his name concretely.

[Borenics] And if I ask whether or not it was Roland Antoniewicz, can you confirm this or deny this?

[Horvath] Please; I cannot deny it; I cannot give confirmation.

[Borenics] What do you know of Roland Antoniewicz? Where is he?

[Horvath] To our knowledge, at the present moment he is not in Hungary.

[Borenics] I also have received this kind of letter: It says that the AVH [State Security Authority] group of the party of loyal communists wrote this letter. And here, everything is mixed together, from FIDESZ, through the Hungarists, through Robert Ribanszki to the Arrowcross Party. When I read it, and when later I received this appeal from the Arrowcross Party, as well, I immediately saw that it could only be provocation. And I thought it was very strange that it was turned into such an enormous affair this week, that Parliament dealt at length with it. This is good for those who do not like there being a multiparty system here, the fact that democratism has got underway. It is good for those who would like there to

be a rollback [visszarendezöedés], who say: Look where this so-called great democracy is leading to.

[Horvath] If you do not take it amiss, I cannot agree with this, first and foremost because such a crude provocation does not benefit the provocator himself, and nor does it benefit any of the forces currently on the political palette. It is the act of a person who politically, and probably otherwise, as well, is distorted, one who believed that he achieved something—which you have mentioned—but which, in truth, a person who is sober and able to think politically knows is not true. [passage omitted]

[Borencs] On what basis have you been able to establish who was the person concerned?

[Horvath] We have experts whose investigating activity (?primarily concerns) these; they are assisted by a host of specialists, (?historians,) typewriter experts. After the problem appeared to be serious, these people quickly went through these investigations, and the picture took shape in 3 days.

[Borencs] Have you found the typewriter on which it was written?

[Horvath] Yes. [end recording]

Bekesi Speaks on Administration of Assets

*LD2010223389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1714 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Speech by Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi from the relay of the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Esteemed National Assembly, what I submit to you is a briefing, and not an item-by-item, precise, account, about the assets of social organizations and their budgetary support. It is not merely the shortness of the time available for preparation, and even less the lack of good will, which prevents this briefing from being a full and precise account; it is the conditions that are lacking for this. We can not give a real picture of the precise value of the real-estate assets owned and administered by the organizations, because their records contain not the real turnover value, but so-called register values, originating at various points of time. The only exception to this are the investments completed in the last 1 or 2 years, since those entered the records with values identical to the investment costs.

I have to observe that this is a general problem, not limited merely to the record of assets of the social organs. In Hungary today the overwhelming majority of state assets are registered with this kind of unrealistic value by those who administer them, be it a question of enterprises or institutions. From all this we have to draw the conclusion that the reassessment of state assets, and the continuous maintenance of their value, are unavoidable within the foreseeable period, once the technical conditions for this can be created. At present this can only occur when there is a change of owner, or trustee; and

even then only if the asset or the trusteeship [kezelőijog] is put up for disposal, for sale.

I would mention just one example to show how ill-suited the data of asset records are for drawing well-grounded conclusions. According to the records, the value of the Central Committee's headquarters in Jaszai Mari Square is 310 million forints. Therefore, the turnover value of the asset-mass registered at a global value of just under 12 billion forints is, in reality, considerably more than that.

The briefing is incomplete also because, in the absence of data, it cannot show the real value of the joint-trusteeship of certain properties. The data are also distorting in the global presentation of budgetary supports. I need hardly prove that from 1968 onwards, in other words, from the first year when the support of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] or of other social organizations could be demonstrated from the budget notebooks, to the present day—with the granting of 47.4 billion forints in budgetary support, and 8.6 billion forints in tax concessions for enterprises operating under the direct management of the party, the KISZ [Former Communist Youth League] and the trade unions—a total of 56 billion forints of support appears at current prices, which, without valorization, is not suited for economic analysis.

However, in spite of the unavoidable lacunae and distortions, the briefing can serve the purpose—particularly by listing, item-by-item, the most important projects and properties, those in excess of 5 million forints—of enabling national assembly to obtain a picture of the infrastructure which the MSZMP and the social organizations administer. According to the records' data, this infrastructure contains 1,384 buildings which the party and the social organs administer exclusively and a further nearly 1,500 buildings where trusteeship is shared with other organs.

The briefing is also useful in showing to what extent the budget took part in financing the running and development of these organizations.

During the past 31 years, in other words since 1957, the costs of the MSZMP's operation were covered by state support to the extent of 21 percent, and by party members' membership fees to the extent of 75 percent. By 1988 this proportion had been considerably altered, and in the past year state support made up over 50 percent of the party's total sources of revenue. The 4.3 billion forint amount of state investments over the last 10 years is equal to 54 percent of the value of assets on record. The distortion here is evident, but the data is nevertheless worthy of attention.

The operation of other social organizations, such as the Patriotic People's Front, the National Peace Council, or the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, is completely financed by State Budget support. There is no doubt that the party and other social organizations, such as the KISZ, apart from running their organizational life, their apparatus, also perform state tasks. A part of social

science research, a certain proportion of pioneer and youth tasks, as well as the provision of holidays for people working in these organizations, belong to state tasks just as much as if they had been carried out by state or trade union institutions.

This can hardly be said of the wide-scale party education, which can be found in every country with its further education institutes, and which in part has trained the staff members of its own apparatus, and in part disseminated the long-reigning ideology.

The separation of jointly performed state, party, and mass organization tasks is impossible in respect to financing.

Esteemed National Assembly. In a structure, and with a content, similar to this briefing, the Party Central Committee gave an account of its assets and operation at the Party Congress. The Congress took the stance that the Hungarian Socialist Party, [HSP] apart from the real estate absolutely necessary for its operation, should renounce all its real-estate trusteeships, and should offer them to the government. Among these properties can be found office buildings, educational establishments, holiday homes, and guest houses, alike. The needs of the newly-forming party's operation will be reexamined and established by a committee of experts in the near future.

On the basis of the Council of Ministers' resolution of 1977, since 1 September 1977, all the real estate of the party has been in state ownership. The government guaranteed the MSZMP the trusteeship of these properties. There is, therefore, no need to settle the right of ownership. It is about the assets' utilization that the government must decide.

In the matter of the utilization of the party's real estate assets, the government will follow three guiding principles. First and foremost: from these assets it wishes to create the infrastructural conditions absolutely necessary for the operation of the parties, including the Hungarian Socialist Party, in harmony with the accepted principle that the multiparty system may not cost more than the one-party system.

It wishes to use another part of the real estate for educational, health and welfare purposes, involving the metropolitan, county, and local councils, too, in the preparation of this work. This work has already begun. Last, but not least, from the third part of the real estate assets it is expedient to create a reserve for citing the institutions absolutely necessary for developing the constitutional statehood, and for correcting the distribution of assets among the parties.

I would like to stress this in particular because I do not believe that the creation of constitutional statehood should unavoidably cost the country more than the hitherto system of power. Putting it another way, I could also say: let us save on the institutions of the dictatorial system at least as much as the extra cost of democracy; in other words, democracy should not cost the people more than dictatorship.

Parliament will decide on the amount of current budget supports, in accordance with the party law, within the framework of the annual budget. This applies to the parties and social organizations alike. The first time when the National Assembly will decide on the amount of budget support, in accordance with the new principles and regulations, will be on the occasion of the submission of next year's budget.

Esteemed National Assembly. The government is to appoint a government commissioner for the preparation of the distribution of the party's real estate. The distribution of the assets can be carried out in two stages. It is expedient to complete the preparation of the first stage by the end of this year. By then it will have been possible to assess the legal needs of the parties registered on the basis of the party law, and to carry out the statutory transferal of the real estate.

In order that no kind of abuse might occur during the time of the preparation, the HSP's Congress suspended the right of the commercial utilization of the real estate in its management. The government welcomes the HSP's initiative to hand over to the government, out of turn, by 15 November, three Budapest District Party Headquarters, together with their installations. These buildings will be destined to satisfy the temporary accommodation needs of the parties registered on the basis of the party law.

The government, by 31 January 1990, will decide on the utilization of the party's real estate, and it will account to the National Assembly about it by 31 March. On the government's behalf I would like to call on the National Assembly's Planning and Budget, as well as its Legal, Administrative and Judicial Affairs Committee, that prior to the government's decision, it should discuss and pass an opinion on the government commissioner's distribution proposal.

The second stage of the asset distribution, the correction of the asset distribution between the parties, may take place after the elections, in proportion to the number of mandates obtained. It will be expedient at that time to decide also about whether the real estate should become the parties' property, or whether they should merely administer the real estate.

On the government's behalf I ask the esteemed National Assembly to kindly adopt the briefing. Thank you very much.

Reportage on Soviet Foreign Minister's Visit**PAP Reports Arrival**

*LD2410121989 Warsaw PAP in English
1135 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24: Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze came on a visit to Poland today at the invitation from Polish Government.

During the welcoming ceremony at the Okęcie Airport by Head of Polish Diplomacy Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Eduard Shevardnadze voiced satisfaction over the possibility to continue dialogue with him started during the recent meeting in New York and stressed importance the Soviet leadership attached to these talks.

Meeting With Leaders Held

*LD2410202489 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] [Presenter] We begin our news with the report on the visit to Poland of the USSR foreign affairs minister. [passage omitted]

Here is the office of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. During a private conversation which lasted nearly 2 hours Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Eduard Shevardnadze spoke above all about bilateral relations, including issues which result from our joint history. Next, also at the Foreign Ministry, plenary talks were held. They were dominated by economic issues. Krzysztof Skubiszewski stressed that relations with the Soviet Union, Poland's most important partner, must change in order to correspond to the sociopolitical processes taking place in the two countries. Krzysztof Skubiszewski confirmed that Poland is interested in increasing our trade exchange. Eduard Shevardnadze briefed the Polish side about the transformations, and at the same time the difficulties, in the Soviet economy. However, he confirmed that oil deliveries will be maintained at the same level. At the same time he presented an initiative for joint Polish-Soviet production for Third World markets. Polish indebtedness to the Soviet Union was also discussed.

A great attention was devoted to the Soviet Polonia [expatriate Poles in the USSR]. Krzysztof Skubiszewski thanked the Soviet side for making it easier to create an organization for the Polish ethnic group, and for respecting its needs, particularly regarding culture and religion. In this context the head of Polish diplomacy mentioned the matter of moral recompense for the Poles who were victims of the Stalinist repressions in the Soviet Union and the issue of a change of citizenship by persons intending to return to Poland. At the moment, over a period of 6 months, the applications of over 500 people received a positive response. In spite of difficult problems the talks took place in a very good atmosphere. Eduard Shevardnadze said that what is happening in Poland is not causing an allergy beyond the Bug [border river]—the Soviet Union can avail itself of the Polish experience after all.

Here is the building of the Council of Ministers and a meeting with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The private conversation lasted nearly an hour longer than planned:

[Begin recording] [Shevardnadze speaking in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] I have profound impressions. As you know I have held two rounds of talks with Foreign Affairs Minister Skubiszewski. I have just concluded a talk, a very important talk, with chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, Mr Mazowiecki. This was a very important and profound talk, about Polish-Soviet relations at their present stage, at a highly responsible stage in our relations. We discussed in great detail and in depth the issues concerning bilateral relations; we discussed the situation in Europe and in the world; the issues of disarmament agreements; the prospects of overcoming of military confrontation. I conveyed to Mr Premier an invitation on behalf of the Soviet Government to visit the Soviet Union. As I understand it, we have agreed that such a visit will take place in the last 10 days of November. Mr Chairman will perhaps specify the date more precisely, but what is most important is that this visit will take place, and I have no doubt that this visit will have great importance in strengthening the traditional cooperation and friendship between our countries, and increasing the effectiveness of our cooperation in all spheres. I am very pleased with this talk.

[Mazowiecki speaking in Polish with Russian translation in the background] I would just like to confirm what Mr Minister said—that I am also very pleased with our multifaceted, and as you saw yourselves, very long conversation. I have received with gratitude the invitation to go to Moscow. I attach great importance to this visit. As I have already said, Polish-Soviet relations are for us an extremely important issue and the government which I lead attaches great importance to them. I think that the visit of Mr Minister to Poland allowed us to discuss many matters, which has strengthened our relations, and we said to each other: see you in Moscow. We shall continue this, most probably on 23 November. [laughter] [end recording]

Rakowski Meets With Shevardnadze

*LD2510093189 Warsaw PAP in English
0912 GMT 25 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczysław Rakowski met here today with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, now in Poland on a working visit.

PAP Gives Roundup of Meetings

*LD2510021189 Warsaw PAP in English
2240 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived for a working visit on Tuesday at the invitation of the Polish Government.

Greeted by his Polish counterpart Krzysztof Skubiszewski at Warsaw's Okęcie airport, Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction over the possibility to continue dialogue with the head of Polish diplomacy which had started at their recent meeting in New York. The guest also stressed the significance attached by the Soviet leadership to talks between both countries.

Skubiszewski-Shevardnadze Talks

The dialogue was continued at a face-to-face meeting in the Foreign Ministry before noon, the ministers discussing bilateral relations and problems stemming from the common past of the two countries and their people.

In the afternoon both ministers presided over plenary talks which focused on economic questions. Minister Skubiszewski said that Poland's economic opening to the West does not change in the least relations with the Soviet Union. It still remains Poland's main economic partner. Supplies of raw materials from the Soviet Union are very important. In the Polish minister's opinion, they should be maintained at the present level—if they cannot be increased.

Minister Skubiszewski raised the question of Poland's debt to the USSR and possible effects of a switchover to world prices in trade. He said that one should think already now about a new concept of economic relations between Poland and the Soviet Union at the threshold of a new five-year period, about giving up the formula of coordinating economic plans. He deemed it necessary to introduce changes in mechanisms of cooperation within the CMEA, to create new currency-monetary systems, new credit systems, new systems of clearing accounts. This will not be possible without convertible currencies.

We are not allergic to that which is taking place in Poland—Shevardnadze told Skubiszewski. We are vitally interested in Poland overcoming the crisis. That is why—in the Soviet minister's opinion—economic cooperation comes to the fore in bilateral relations. Shevardnadze said that both countries should strive for coproduction, with the product being sold on third markets. He declared that Soviet supplies of raw materials will be maintained at the present level.

Shevardnadze also came out for a gradual introduction of new economic mechanisms to prevent continuation of lingering irregularities.

I know—Shevardnadze said—that the Polish Government devotes much attention to economic relations with the West. This is the right thing to do, we act in a similar way.

Further in the talks minister Skubiszewski pointed to the situation of the Polish ethnic group in the Soviet Union. Thanking the Soviet authorities for helping them to organize themselves, the Polish minister raised the question of repressions sustained by Poles in the Stalinist period, and also the question of moral satisfaction for

those people. He also spoke about granting Polish citizenship to those who wish so and about a possibility of a return to Poland of Poles living in the Soviet Union, adding that this is not a large-scale phenomenon.

Minister Skubiszewski thanked the Soviet authorities for understanding religious needs of Poles in the Soviet Union. He came out for a free tourist traffic between both countries, without bureaucratic barriers or invitations.

Eduard Shevardnadze said he does not see obstacles in solving the problems of Poles living in the Soviet Union. The question of rehabilitation of victims of Stalinist repressions is also under consideration.

Both ministers discussed international affairs, including contacts in the Baltic region, contacts with the Council of Europe and the European Community.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union.

Shevardnadze Received by Mazowiecki

Also today, Eduard Shevardnadze was received by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. After the meeting which lasted almost two hours the interlocutors told newsmen:

Shevardnadze: I had two rounds of talks with Minister Skubiszewski. Now I wound up a very important talk with the chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. This was an in-depth exchange of views on Soviet-Polish relations at the present, extremely responsible stage. We made a deep, comprehensive analysis of those questions which pertain to bilateral relations as well as the situation in Europe and worldwide, and problems concerning disarmament agreements, prospects for preventing a military confrontation. I conveyed to Mr Prime Minister, on behalf of the Soviet Government, an invitation to visit the Soviet Union. We determined that this visit will take place in the last ten days of November.

Mazowiecki: I can only confirm the assessments made by Minister Shevardnadze. I am also very satisfied with our comprehensive and long talk. I accepted the invitation to Moscow with gratitude. I attach a very big significance to this visit for we regard Polish-Soviet relations as a very important problem and the government I chair attaches an immense significance to them. In all probability, we will continue talks on November 23.

Upon Shevardnadze's departure from the office of the Council of Ministers, journalists representing various mass media again turned to him for details from the meeting with the Polish prime minister. One of the questions concerned Katyn.

"We addressed ourselves to all problems connected with history, the present day and the future of mutual relations," Shevardnadze replied. He added that examination is under way of all existing historical documents which may reveal real facts, the truth, which—he said—is of concern to us.

Historian Views Relations With GDR, FRG

AU1810173989 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL
in German 16 Oct 89 pp 49, 52

[Article by Polish historian and Solidarity adviser Adam Michnik: "Is the GDR's Existence in Poland's Interest?"]

[Excerpts] Insistence on the division of Germany was a dogma of Polish foreign policy during past decades. Aspirations for German unity were assessed by us as jeopardizing peace and stability in Europe and threatening the balance of power. In addition, German unity also seemed to contradict the Polish *raison d'état*. [passage omitted]

What is the GDR today? It is a police state where Soviet troops are deployed, but where Soviet newspapers are banned because they publish bits of truth on the Stalin era.

The GDR is a state which refuses to understand the Soviet policy of democratic restructuring, and which resorts to sharp repression of its critics at home from among circles of the Evangelical Church and the democratic opposition.

It is a state from which the people are trying to flee at any cost, and which is obviously unable to prevent this exodus in any other way than by the Wall and by barbed wire.

It is, finally, the German state which recently, in the conflict over the Pomeranian Bay, was the first to try to clear the way regarding Poland's western border which had the name, peace border, for decades.

On the other hand, what is the FRG? It is a state where increasingly more Poles go in search of jobs and money, with an increasing number of them claiming that they are Germans.

It is a state which, since Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, can no longer be considered Poland's enemy, even though the Social Democratic Party of Germany accepted the imposition of martial law in Poland.

However, the Federal Republic is also a state whose ministers, under pressure from the extremist rightist camp, occasionally reiterate formulas that create apprehensions among the Poles. In other words, it is a state which formulates its policy toward Poland not without considering the party of the so-called Republicans. The picture remains contradictory—not only in this respect. [passage omitted]

Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government will certainly continue some elements of our former foreign policy; however, it will also introduce its own tenor. An indication in this respect may be the appointment of Mieczyslaw Pszon as envoy in charge of negotiations with Bonn.

Without being authorized to speak on behalf of the Mazowiecki Government, I may express a few brief reflections on the future of central Europe. How will things continue?

The answer depends largely on whether radical change is possible in German-Soviet relations.

In view of the new note in the Soviet press and the new attitude toward the problem of ethnic German Soviet citizens, that is very likely. However, this sheds new light on the problems related to de-Stalinization in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Thus the Polish minimum regarding Polish-German relations must be: The reunification of Germany is an affair of the Germans themselves, but it is also an affair of all those nations which had to pay a high price for the collapse of the Third Reich. So it also depends on the question of whether there is a guarantee that the Germans no longer constitute a threat to anyone.

However, it is also our duty to say that the Germans have the right to a state in line with their own ideas. To state this, is not only a moral requirement but also a requirement of the Polish *raison d'état*. After all, the German people's abnormal situation has also cast a shadow on the whole of Polish-German relations which also include the living conditions of those Polish citizens who ascertain their loyalty to their German origin.

It is a matter of the dignity of Polish democracy for this problem to be solved, with all principles of civil liberties being respected. However, this is a Polish affair which must not be made the subject of international agreements. Linking the rights of national minorities with international treaties has a fatal tradition and ought to rouse the worst memories in Poland.

That changes nothing about the fact that there is the ~~problem~~ of Poland's presence in regions that belonged to Germany and were inhabited by Germans for many years. Silesia, for example, must never be a bone of contention—however, it could become a region where Poles and Germans meet. [passage omitted]

If we want to have a change in German-Polish relations, the Germans must also be certain about one thing: They must be certain that the Poles have by no means an interest in seeing the Stalinist system in the GDR maintained.

The problem of Poland's relations with the GDR has gained particular importance today. How very sensitive Polish policy is in this respect, is shown by the example of the intervention of censorship in publications on the

GDR, even though the censorship authority in present-day Poland is more liberal than ever, and what is more, it is under Premier Mazowiecki's direct control.

Can the past doctrine be maintained that the existence of a second German state is good for Poland—the state which was established by Stalin on the territory of the Soviet occupation zone? In other words, is it in Poland's national interest to do something for the stabilization model of the GDR, which makes it a bastion of the Stalinist system in central Europe? [passage omitted]

Being a Pole, I cannot believe that even though the GDR is drained of its life blood as no other Eastern Bloc country is, it will in the long run be the only region between the Elbe and Volga rivers from which common sense and humanity will also be barred when the "common European home" is built.

However, once this home has been set up, representing a large clamp linking East and West, it will also cope with a reunified Germany.

Brussels EC Talks End, More Set for Nov

LD2110095489 Warsaw PAP in English
1947 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Brussels, Oct. 20—Secretary of State at the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation Andrzej Wojcik ended his two-day talks with EC authorities here. Among others, he met with Frans Andriessen, deputy chairman of the Commission, and Commissioner for Agriculture Ray McSharry.

The topics included food aid for Poland and the fund for restructuring agriculture. The fund is being created from the money obtained from sale of EC-donated food in Poland. At present, the fund stands at 50 billion zlotys, but it is expected to grow fast in the future.

Minister Wojcik's talks were the first contact in this sphere between Poland and the European Community since the signing on Sept. 19 of the bilateral agreement on trade and economic cooperation.

We have agreed that representatives of both sides will meet again in Warsaw in the first ten days of November, Wojcik told PAP. I hope we will then agree on the following issues: First, ways of managing the fund and setting up of a supervisory council. Second, a joint review of first projects to be financed from the fund. It is both our and the EC's intention that the first projects be approved for financing and implementation as early as at the turn of November. The fund is meant to serve first of all private investors.

We also hope that by January 1990 the EC will eliminate all existing discriminatory quota restrictions on imports of Polish-made products, Wojcik said.

Finance Minister Meets World Bank Official

LD2110041789 Warsaw PAP in English
2154 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz today met with visiting vice-president of the World Bank responsible for European, North-African, and Middle Eastern regions, Wilfried Thalwitz.

This is the first visit paid to Poland by a World Bank representative of this rank. His visit is associated with hopes for concluding the long negotiations on the bank's releasing the first loans for Poland.

Both diplomats discussed problems of counteracting social and economic consequences of Polish anti-inflation programme and conceptions of mechanisms intended to encourage higher production, higher productivity of the economy, and change of its structure. The World Bank is likely to play a major role in this field.

Speaking to journalists Thalwitz said he was under the impression of the determination with which the Polish Government was going to carry out the economic reforms. He said the World Bank had a role to play in the process of reforms and he was not sufficiently involved in the Polish affairs. I rely on the work of my expert colleagues, he said, adding that this work would help prepare concrete plans which can be implemented already now.

Wojtczak Urges Broad Cooperation With FRG

AU2010155289 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT
in German 20-21 Oct 89 p 18

[Report by "GBA": "Wojtczak: Aid Must Not Only Consist of Money"]

[Text] Bonn—A delegation of Polish members of parliament led by Michal Wojtczak, minister-designate of agricultural industry, is currently visiting the FRG. In a HANDELSBLATT interview, Wojtczak stressed that there was a "definitely more positive atmosphere" in all his contacts, no matter whether they were politicians or leading businessmen.

Compared to earlier contacts, the decisive difference lay in the fact that his German partners in talks did not confine themselves "to making general declarations and statements of intent," but wanted to have very specific information about projects of German-Polish cooperation. Wojtczak said on the fringes of a meeting of the Economic Council of the Christian Democratic Union in Bonn's Beethovenhalle, after having had lengthy talks with German entrepreneurs.

Wojtczak, whose appointment as minister of agricultural industry is expected in the first days of November, earlier also met with Horst Teltchik, who is the federal chancellor's foreign policy adviser and who conducted the negotiations with Warsaw on German aid for Poland.

He said that there were still misunderstandings on the German side regarding the situation in Poland. He said that there was a certain technical level in his country. Therefore, the proposals on direct cooperation between Polish and German firms could not proceed from the high level in the Federal Republic. They had to be confined to the Polish standard "or a standard that is a bit higher so we can learn," Wojtczak said.

He mentioned as an example the proposal of Israeli experts who had presented computer-controlled production processes at the Poznan Agricultural Fair. He said that such modern things were desirable for the future; however, today Polish farmers were unable to put them into practice.

"Therefore, we must promote areas where Polish products could be attractive for Europe," Wojtczak cited four areas where Poland should primarily receive aid:

- Agricultural industry and the processing of agricultural products;
- Tourism: the existing infrastructure was insufficient, he said;
- Electrical engineering, and
- The construction sector, including the production of building materials, etc.

Wojtczak said that in talks with entrepreneurs, the German side had above all shown interest in the first area, the processing of agricultural products. In addition, there was an interest in the development of the infrastructure of Polish tourism. However, future cooperation with German and other West European firms in the agricultural sector should not be viewed under the aspect of opening up EC markets to Polish products, the agriculture minister-designate said. Even though food production would have to be expanded, it should not go into exports, because first of all, supply bottlenecks in Poland itself had to be overcome, he said.

Wojtczak said that the planned aid for Poland should not be confined to making available financial means. The training and advanced training of Polish experts was very important, he said and added that this had been discussed; however, no concrete accords had been reached. "I hope very much that the Western countries will really invest in this area of training for managers and entrepreneurs—this would not require too large sums. This seems to me to be the best and most interesting investment which would bear fruit soon." It would give Poland a chance to "develop into a European country functioning in an entirely normal way," Wojtczak said.

Politburo Meets To Discuss 16th Party Plenum

*LD2410215789 Warsaw PAP in English
1953 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 24—The PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau met here today to review programmatic-organisational

assumptions of the 16th Plenum of the party's CC which is to be held on November 6, 1989.

The bureau, taking into account the changing political situation in Poland, decided to introduce qualitatively new principles of cooperation of the Central Committee and party authorities at all levels with party deputies and PUWP parliamentary floor group. These principles will be defined during the party's 11th Congress and in party's statute.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with the views of the party organisations on personnel changes taking place at the central, local and economic institutions. The party has observed practices in the applied personnel policy which depart from the principles presented in Premier Mazowiecki's Sejm expose where he specified that it were the [words indistinct] professionalism and loyalty to the state that should decide.

The bureau appealed to the Presidium of the PUWP parliamentary floor group to present particularly glaring instances of breaching these principles to the Sejm.

PZPR Commission Readies Draft Documents

*AU1910144189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 17 Oct 89 pp 1,2*

[Anna Pawlowska report on the 16 October session of the PZPR Central Congress Commission's Organization and Statute Team held in Warsaw]

[Text] The Organization and Statute Team of the Congress Commission which is headed by Aleksander Kwasniewski has the task of preparing the drafts of two documents (principles governing the election of delegates and the statutes) which are both extremely urgent. The 16 October session concentrated on the discussion of the electoral regulations.

Mieczyslaw Czerniawski, Sejm deputy and first secretary of the Lomza Voivodship Committee, and the chairman of the Organization and Statute Team, recommended the draft document prepared by the team. He sketched out the initial concepts; the possibility of full and candidate members having a say on candidate selection; the presentation of various program options in the election campaign and the people behind such options; the creation of election procedures that guarantee a basic organizational order; and the adoption of a method of candidate selection that would not be tainted with suspicions of "foul play."

Most of these proposals were presented as possible alternatives, and the aim of Monday's meeting was to eliminate the number of such alternatives during the course of further work. In some matters this aim was achieved during the course of the lively and heated debates. However, further discussion is needed on the fundamental problems: direct district elections; elections by electoral colleges (the primary party bodies would

select electoral colleges); or, proportional elections (according to the number of votes cast for various political platforms).

The main matters agreed at this meeting (they still remain to be debated by Central Committee and Central Congress Commission Plenums) were as follows:

- Electoral districts and multiple mandates;
- The representational norm—there will be one delegate per 1,500 full and candidate members;
- Practical matters (division into districts; formation of electoral commissions; management of voivodship-level and primary-level congress commissions);
- The right to propose nominations by full and candidate members; primary party organizations; discussion clubs; movements and other groupings; subteams of pre-congress program platforms; party committees and commissions; groups of party members in representative organs, in central and voivodship authorities of youth and socioprofessional organizations, in associations and self governing bodies;
- The condition of standing as candidate to require approval by the local primary party organization and 50 signatures of full members;
- Candidates can stand in only one district of their choice;
- Members of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Deputies Club have the right to participate in the congress with all attendant rights; retiring members of party central authorities (the Central Committee and the Central Auditing and Control Commission) who are not elected delegates have a right to attend as advisers.

It should be stressed that the above points are only draft conclusions and are not binding. Many issues are still dependent on the findings of the second of the Congress Commission teams.

The main themes of thought behind the discussion was: The Congress Commission feels the pressure from the highest party organs for radical changes, but at the same time it is conscious that it is only an instrument of the upcoming congress, and is not empowered to make any decisions that are rightfully within the competence of the approaching congress. This is a good omen for the future.

The following people participated in the debate: Sejm deputy Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, a farmer from the Białystok Voivodship; Andrzej Kobielski, first secretary of the Krakow Politechnic PZPR Committee (Movement of Primary Party Bodies in Krakow Academic Circles); Stanisław Stolarz, Central Committee member and fitter at the Białystok Furniture Factory; Tadeusz Roslanowski from the PZPR Committee at the Polish Academy of Sciences (July 8 Movement); Ludwik Krauski, a journalist from NOWE DROGI; Marek Siwiec,

editor in chief of ITD; Sejm deputy Janusz Zemke, first secretary of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship PZPR Committee; Waldemar Swigon, Central Committee member and editor in chief of CHLOPSKIE DROGI; Mieczysław Lagosz, first secretary of the Lenin Steelworks PZPR Committee; Andrzej Judzinski, first secretary of the "Falubaza" Factory PZPR Committee in Zielona Gora; Ryszard Dzwiniel, first secretary of the "Bielawa" Factory PZPR Committee in Bielawa; Władysław Fidzinski, Central Committee member and doctor at the Praga Hospital in Warsaw; Andrzej Dymowski, first secretary of the "Stalowa Wola" Combine PZPR Committee; Wiesław Pawlik, first secretary of the Port of Gdynia PZPR Committee (Party organizations discussion forum on maritime resources); Jerzy Mikosz from the Western Institute in Poznan (July 8 Movement); Witold Skrabalak, director and editor in chief of the "Książka i Wiedza" Publishing House; Jan Turzynski, Central Committee member and first secretary in the "Polkowice" Mining Concern PZPR Committee; and Mirosław Okrasa, Central Committee member and master technician at the PZL-Hydral Factory in Wrocław. Many other people who have not been named here also took part in the general debates.

Jaruzelski Meets With Cooperative Officials

LD2110042789 Warsaw PAP in English
2331 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today representatives of the Chief Council of Cooperatives who reported on the stance of the general meeting of the Chief Council of Cooperatives and presented opinions of cooperatives activists concerning the proposals contained in the government draft changes in the organization and functioning of cooperatives which claim a membership of 15 million.

Appreciating the vast social and economic role of cooperatives, the president declared his commitment to reaching an agreement and the best solutions available.

OPZZ's Miodowicz Looks to PZPR for Support

LD2110211489 Warsaw PAP in English
1913 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Walbrzych, Oct. 21—On the second day of his visit to south-western industrial basin in Walbrzych today, leader of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] trade unions Alfred Miodowicz met on Saturday with the local union activists.

In a discussion, Miodowicz referred to the problems of trade union movement in the new political, social, and economic situation. The role of trade unions affiliated to the OPZZ is now unusually important, he said. Some of the government moves and its further plans worry us, he continued adding that this is the reason why his unions do not agree to selling away national property, privatization, unemployment, wages ceilings combined with letting the prices go up freely.

The people's ability to stand the present phenomena on the market is finite. We want to help the people at the driving wheel to realise this by, among other things, staging protest actions which do not ruin the economy, OPZZ leader warned.

We represent the opinion, he went on, that trade unions should not enter the political arena like the Solidarity does but we cannot stay on the sidelines of events and we want to have a support from a political ally.

He stressed that none of the parties can have OPZZ support in advance, but added:

"We await with hope the positive, corresponding with the spirit of time, changes within the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] so that this party can quickly become our political support."

OPZZ To Continue Protest Action 23-28 Oct

LD2110095389 Warsaw PAP in English
1942 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—Prices rising at a terrible pace, profiteering, the sale of national property, the spectre of hunger and poverty for many Polish families are all the causes that made the Council of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) on October 5 declare a nationwide trade union protest action, says an OPZZ communique conveyed to PAP.

One of the parts of the protest was a picket in front of the Sejm building on October 13 when the Sejm debated on the Law on Indexation. A delegation of the protestors delivered a special petition to the Sejm speaker. Its first result was a meeting of Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz with members of the OPZZ leadership on the government initiative. During the meeting, the government made a pledge to swiftly examine proposals tabled by OPZZ representatives. That is why the next trade union protest action, with a deliberately limited scope, will be continued in Poland on October 23-28.

OKP Proposes Amending Deputies' Rights, Duties

LD2110095589 Warsaw PAP in English
1944 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—The Citizens Parliamentary Club (OKP) met after the Sejm meeting today. The OKP decided to put forth an initiative to amend the law on the rights and duties of Sejm deputies. The signatures of Sejm deputies required by the regulations have already been collected.

The initiative aims at introducing partial and most urgent amendments to this law.

Deputy Geremek said that the Presidia of the OKP and the United Peasant Party floor group asked the government if it planned to withdraw a draft law on cooperative movement from the Sejm. If the answer is negative, one should expect the draft to undergo far-reaching changes

in the Sejm committees, which will cause the adoption of this controversial law to be postponed.

KPN Issues Statement on Official Occupation

LD1910213789 Warsaw PAP in English
1950 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—Member of the Presidium of the Political Council of the Confederation for Independent Poland KPN Krzysztof Krol conveyed a communique to PAP which states in part:

The mass media devoted considerable attention in the recent days to KPN's action in Katowice, that is the taking over and occupation of office space which until recently was used by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

In a talk with Prime Minister Mazowiecki, KPN representatives had been assured that all political parties would be treated on equal terms and that there should not be any problems in acquiring such status by independent political parties.

KPN representatives forwarded applications to turn to them office space for the party's local and central headquarters in a dozen or so towns at the beginning of the past September. Unfortunately, despite government assurances, we faced everywhere hostility or complete lack of interest in this issue, says the communique.

In the middle of September I conveyed to Minister [word indistinct] a report on the current state of affairs and I forwarded him that in case of lack of change in the attitude of local authorities towards KPN, we will be forced by a political act and through the method of accomplished facts to take over appropriate office space by ourselves.

On October 13, KPN members from Upper Silesia took over office space of the PRON's Municipal Council in Katowice without the use of force and started to occupy the building. Talks held between member of the KPN's Political Council Adam Slomka and the president of Katowice on the same day did not bring any results.

In conclusion the KPN communique states that in case of further negative, delayed or unsatisfactory reactions to KPN demands concerning the granting of office space, actions of taking over buildings will be also undertaken in other cities.

KPN Enter PRON Building

LD2110205189 Warsaw PAP in English
1756 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 21—Twenty members of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) entered the headquarters of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) here Friday to thus obtain agreement to use the PRON office rooms for the KPN work.

Member of the KPN Political Council Krzysztof Krol told PAP reporter that KPN representatives had met the premier on September 9 to acquaint him with the organization's postulates towards central and local authorities. They concerned the payable assignment of office rooms for their work, high circulation press and access to radio and TV. The premier assumed a friendly attitude to these postulates, Krol said.

At the headquarters of the PRON National Council on Friday, director of this council's office Kazimierz Kloda offered a neighbouring building, also owned by the PRON National Council, for KPN, expecting the authorities to respond.

Thus, late afternoon on Friday, KPN representatives moved from the main building of the PRON National Council to the neighbouring pavilion, also used by the PRON, to continue their action.

The occupation of public buildings by activists of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) ended in Warsaw, Katowice and Radom today.

KPN activists quit the office rooms they occupied in the presence of representatives of municipal authorities and law enforcement organs. There was no need to use physical pressure.

Peasants Party Presidium Holds Meeting

LD2110042189 Warsaw PAP in English
2128 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—The Presidium of the United Peasant Party (UPP) Central Committee [CC] discussed Poland's socio-economic situation today. It voiced its concern over the growing public dissatisfaction. Deepening inflationary processes cause anti-peasant moods in society created also partly by one-sided information policy.

The debaters disapproved of the creation of a new information monopoly.

The UPP CC Presidium sized up the government economic programme and its proposals for legal amendments in the organization and work of the cooperative movement.

The direction of the conception of reforms, envisaged in the programme, aiming to introduce market principles to Polish economy, is strategically convergent with the UPP stand.

A communique on the debates says that the cooperative movement, now undergoing reforms, must retain the right to make decisions on its property.

The proposed legal solutions are controversial and not fully in tune with the idea of cooperative movement, self-government and democracy. The UPP CC Presidium wants to voice a conviction that primarily members of cooperatives themselves would determine the

shape of the cooperative movement. The UPP CC Presidium asks the UPP deputy floor group to adopt an appropriate stand on this question in the Sejm.

Students' Union Hails Military Training Talks

LD2110222389 Warsaw PAP in English
2124 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 21—In a communique issued today the Independent Student Union NZS's [Independent Association of University Students] Nationwide Coordinating Committee has positively evaluated the fact of starting talks over large changes in the military training of university students.

The talks give hopes for a successful solution of the swollen problem, especially because it has come for the first time to direct talks between the National Defence Ministry and the Independent Student Union. We believe that the appointment of working teams will make it possible to design such legal regulations and curriculum changes as will satisfy all the sides involved.

In connection with the possibility that the postulates will be materialized, the NZS authorities appealed for giving up the planned protests in medical universities.

The kind presence of Education Ministry representatives and the constructive attitude of the Defence Ministry allow hopes for a quick end of the conflict.

Solidarity Faction Begins Activity in Silesia

LD2210014589 Warsaw PAP in English
2104 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Katowice, Oct. 21—A working group of the National Commission of Solidarity started its public action here today with a rally held under the motto "Rises Are Not Reforms".

While addressing some 200 people present at the rally, Daniel Podrzycki, member of the Secretariat of the Alliance for Democratic Elections in the Trade Unions Solidarity and Tomasz Karwowski member of the working group criticised the activities of the government in the economic, social and political spheres.

In a conversation with journalists, Karwinski spoke about the goals and the programmatic stance of the group. "We demand the return to the workers' ideals of 'August 80'. The present-day Solidarity in the practical and legal aspects has been a completely different union than it used to be in 1980-81. It is dominated by the autocratic team of Lech Walesa. Therefore we decided to split from the trade union's structure and support the group of Marian Jurczyk of Szczecin," he said.

PAP Publishes Documentation Book on Mazowiecki*LD2110210989 Warsaw PAP in English
1839 GMT 21 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 21—Tadeusz Mazowiecki delivered his first programmatic speech as the newly-appointed chief of the government of "The Coalition For a Pro-found Reform of the State" on August 24. The news about this historical event spread all over the world. Poland hastily began to turn into a laboratory testing fundamental changes which take place not only in her part of Europe. All that happens between the rivers Bug and Odra is carefully monitored by political observers in many countries. The new prime minister, who has unchangeably been Lech Walesa's advisor since the very beginning of the Solidarity movement, has always been at the site of important events and stages in the development of this movement. It was so throughout the period between the first Solidarity strikes on the Baltic coast in the summer of 1980 and the round table conference earlier this year.

At the same time this experienced journalist and politician stood away from the limelight. He tended to keep in the shadow of developments.

This will certainly add attractiveness to the first more elaborate publication about Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a documentation book published by POLISH PRESS AGENCY PAP under its series "Profiles" and titled "Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Prime Minister of People's Poland," which comprises 136 pages and has come out less than 2 months after the prime minister's parliamentary expose.

The publication comprises the prime minister's life story, the programmatic texts of his Sejm speeches delivered on August 24 and September 12, statements by Lech Walesa, a congratulatory cable from Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and a transcript from the prime minister's first press conference ("Poland Needs A New Atmosphere").

The book also carries such important interviews granted by the prime minister to foreign and polish press as: "A National Agreement Government Cannot Be Formed Without Communists" (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI), "A New Government, A New Philosophy" (IZVESTIYA), "People Must Be Told The Truth" (LE MONDE), "People Are Getting Impatient" (TIME magazine), "To Change Poland Together" (SOLIDARNOSC, September 1).

Another chapter comprises articles and comments about the new Polish prime minister and his government published in THE SUNDAY TIMES, BAYERN KURIER, DANAS, LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS, DAILY TELEGRAPH, LE FIGARO, EL PAIS, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, EL INDEPENDIENTE, LE SOIR, NEW YORK TIMES.

The last part of the PAP publication contains excerpts from Tadeusz Mazowiecki's writings from the period starting in 1968 (the first issue of the WIEZ monthly, where he used to be editor-in-chief) up till his reminiscences from the time of internment, published by Tygodnik Powszechny in 1988.

Of the texts published by Mazowiecki in the WIEZ monthly, the book quotes articles titled: "Catholicism And Our Historical Awareness" and "Poland—Germany—Europe." His writings of the period when Mazowiecki was editor-in-chief of the PAP press documentation department. The book can be ordered directly from the PAP Biuro Wydawniczo-Handlowe (Sales Department), Warsaw, phone 287851.

10th Senate Session To Be Held 26 Oct*LD2410215689 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] The Senate Presidium has decided to call the 10th Session of the Senate on Thursday 26 October at 1100 in the Sejm Chamber of Columns. The agenda anticipates the acceptance of a standpoint on the government draft law on a change to the Budget Law for 1989.

Television, Radio Programming Compared*LD1910094989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0730 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Text] New faces, different attitudes—this is the title of a RZECZPOSPOLITA interview with Andrzej Drawicz, head of the Radio and Television Committee. The main television programs of "Teleexpress," "Panorama," and main news, are presently the programs which give a fuller picture of the events in Poland and abroad—approaching the formula of non-party, honest, and factual television providing an opportunity to speak to various people representing various attitudes. As is known, said the head of the Radio and Television Committee, such pronouncements do take place and often are quite vicious, sometimes even containing [words indistinct].

Because the public is more aware of television and criticize it more often, television is more under the pressure of social expectations, which in a characteristic way are focused on television news. I am trying not to yield to the temptation of the bias in favor of television, stated Andrzej Drawicz. The radio was a more stable structure, more resistant to the [word indistinct] instructions coming from outside in the bad old times. The radio resisted it more, and I think that at present, radio bulletins and current affairs programs are already of a very good standard. Recently I was pleased to hear people, who because of their jobs follow the broadcasts of West European stations, say that in this respect we were competing successfully and are comparable in the area of radio bulletins. I therefore would like to encourage my potential and real readers, viewers, and listeners, to remember that what is suitable is not just

limited to 1930 in television [1830 GMT, Main Television News] but also contains the full range, within which important and interesting things are taking place.

Ceausescu Sends Congratulations to GDR's Krenz*AU2410210689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1905 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/10/1989—RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu sent Egon Krenz, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, the following telegram:

On your election to the high office of chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic I convey you, on behalf of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania as well as of my own, cordial congratulations and the best wishes.

We note with great satisfaction that the relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic have witnessed a continuous development in the interest and for the good of the two peoples, of the cause of socialism, progress and peace.

I express the firm conviction that in future too the relations of friendship, solidarity and productive cooperation between our states and peoples will deepen and develop on all planes, going down as an active contribution to the strengthening of the cooperation of the socialist countries, to the promotion of international understanding and cooperation.

I wish you, dear Comrade Krenz, good health and power of work, full success in your highly responsible activity, in the building of the socialist society and the continuous flourishing of the German Democratic Republic.

Oprea, Ungur Meet Visiting SFRY Official*AU1710202389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1925 GMT 17 Oct 89*

["Romanian-Yugoslav Economic Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/10/1989—On October 17, Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania, had an interview with Milan Pavic, president of the Chamber of Economy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who is paying a visit to Romania for the current edition of the Bucharest International Fair.

During the interview, the current stage of bilateral economic relations and possibilities of further developing collaboration and cooperation between Romanian industrial and foreign trade enterprises and Yugoslav companies in areas of mutual interest, of expanding and diversifying mutual commodity exchanges were examined.

The guest also had interviews with Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation

and with the president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The interviews were attended by Boro Denkov, ambassador of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Bucharest.

Ceausescu Discusses Mideast With 'Arafat*AU0810184389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1735 GMT 8 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 8/10/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, met Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who paid a visit to Romania, at the invitation of the Romanian party and state leader.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat expressed their satisfaction at meeting again and continuing their friendly summit dialogue, with a decisive role in the continual development of the Romanian-Palestinian good relations.

During the talks, emphasis was placed on the relations of friendship, solidarity and close cooperation between Romania and the State of Palestine, between the RCP and the PLO and the joint wish was expressed to further expand and strengthen them to the benefit of both peoples, of international peace and understanding.

Yasir 'Arafat had again warmly thanked and expressed his profound gratitude to the RCP and the Romanian Government and people, personally to President Nicolae Ceausescu for the permanent assistance to the Palestinian people's just cause, for the consistent action to settle politically the situation in the Middle East and achieve a lasting peace in that region.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated the resolve of the Romanian party, state and people to support further the Palestinian people's struggle and sustained efforts for the attainment of their legitimate aspirations to live in peace, in a free and independent homeland.

During the talks, current aspects of the international political life were examined, special attention being given to the situation in the Middle East, to ways and means to solve it.

Yasir 'Arafat informed about the latest developments in the Palestinian issue, and the PLO actions to solve the Mideast problems.

The two leaders pointed out that everything should be done to reach a global, just and durable solution to the situation in the Middle East. In context, stress was laid on the importance of the organization of a UN-sponsored international conference on the Mideast questions, attended by all concerned parties, including the State of Palestine and Israel, and the standing members of the Security Council. It was shown that favourable

conditions were in place to this end and that firm action should be taken to convene such a conference the soonest in order to secure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, to existence and independent statehood as well as the security, independence of all states in that region, the establishment of a lasting peace in that area.

It was underscored that the Mideast issues should be seen in the general context of the international situation which continues grave and complex, and that efforts should be stepped up to achieve disarmament, nuclear first of all, to peacefully settle states of tension and conflict existing in various regions of the globe, to eradicate underdevelopment and build a new international economic order and establish a climate of detente, trust and broad cooperation the world over.

In context, it was stressed that communist and worker parties, democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces everywhere should strengthen their collaboration and solidarity, adopt a firm position rejecting resolute the policy and actions of imperialist circles of interference in other peoples' home affairs, of encroaching upon states' independence and sovereignty, any attempts to denigrate socialism, to destabilize the situation in socialist countries and in other states of the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat pointed to the fruitful character of the talks conducted, expressing their belief that these would help further develop the friendly links between Romania and the State of Palestine, between the RCP and the PLO between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples, in the mutual interests of the constructive settlement of the Mideast problems, of the general cause of international peace and collaboration.

The talks were attended by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council; Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the Central Committee; Tudor Postelnicu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP; Nicolae Mihai, deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP.

Attending were 'Abd-al-Rahim Ahmad, Jawid al-Ghusayn and Mahmud Darwish, members of the PLO Executive Committee, Admad Abu al-Hawl, member of the CC of the Fatah Movement, director-general of the PLO Economic Department, and Isma'il Ahmad Muhammad, charge d'affaires ad-interim of the State of Palestine Bucharest.

The meeting and the talks proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual understanding. X X X

In the afternoon, Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, left Bucharest.

Talks Endorsed

AU1210210289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
2020 GMT 12 Oct 89

[“Approvement of the Results of the Talks Between Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat”—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/10/1989—During its 12 October meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] was informed about the visit paid to Romania, at the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Executive Political Committee stressed that the new top level dialogue went down, through its results, as an important moment in the development of the friendly and cooperative relations between Romania and the State of Palestine, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Palestine Liberation Organization, between the Romanian and the Palestinian peoples.

Particular emphasis was placed on the fact that, during the talks, the two leaders, surveying ways and modalities of solving the Middle East questions, jointly underscored that everything possible must be done for a comprehensive political, just and lasting solution to the situation in the region, for the organization, to this end, under the UN aegis, of an international conference which should ensure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, to the existence of its own independent state, as well as the security and independence of all the states in the region, the establishment of a durable and just peace in the Middle East. The need was stressed that the Palestinian delegation to that conference be appointed by the PLO, by the Palestinians themselves and nobody else. It was also underscored that the proposals advanced by Egypt's president, but also Israel's proposals on the organization of elections in the occupied territories could be taken as a basis in the settlement of the Middle East issues.

Approving the results of the visit, of the talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Yasir 'Arafat, the Executive Political Committee reiterated the determination of the Romanian party, state and people to further support the Palestinian people's fight for the attainment of its legitimate aspirations after living in peace, in a free and independent homeland, to further work for the constructive settlement of the Middle East problems, for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and durable peace in the area.

Ceausescu Receives Cypriot's Credentials*AU1810204189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1938 GMT 18 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/10/1989—On October 18 President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Frixos Kolotas who presented his letters of credence as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cyprus to Romania.

On handing over the credentials, ambassador Frixos Kolotas conveyed on behalf of President Yeoryios Vasilou of the Republic of Cyprus a warm salute and best wishes of personal happiness to President Nicolae Ceausescu, of progress and prosperity to the friendly Romanian people.

Highlighted in the address presented by the ambassador are the friendly ties established between Romania and Cyprus as well as the resolve to work to further develop and strengthen the Romanian-Cypriot friendly relations and fruitful cooperation. Also highlighted is the Cypriot Government and people's profound appreciation of the consistent solidarity and support granted by Romania with a view to solving the Cypriot issue.

On receiving the credentials President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed, in turn, best wishes of good health and personal happiness to the president of the Republic of Cyprus, and prosperity to the friendly Cypriot people.

Stressed in President Nicolae Ceausescu's address is the decisive part played by the Romanian-Cypriot political dialogue and summit meetings for the development of ever better relations between our countries, based on the principles of fully equal rights, national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in the domestic affairs and mutual advantage, for the benefit of our nations, of the cause of collaboration, peace and security in Europe and in the world.

Also in the address Romania is shown to have spoken up consistently for an exclusively political solution to the Cypriot issue, negotiated by the two communities, conducive to the ensured unity, integrity and independence of Cyprus, to the Greek Cypriots' and Turkish Cypriots' peacefully living together.

President Nicolae Ceausescu wished the new ambassador full success in carrying out the mission entrusted on him and assured him of the full support of the State Council, the government and of his own support.

Participating in the solemnity during which credentials were presented and in the talks held on the occasion were Foreign Minister Ioan Totu and Dumitru Apostoiu, secretary to the president and to the State Council.

Commission Session With Bangladesh Held*AU1210192689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1815 GMT 12 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 12/10/1989—Bucharest was the venue of the proceedings of the Seventh Session of the Joint Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation Between Romania and Bangladesh.

In the spirit of the provisions under the long-term agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh the current stage of bilateral economic links and new ways and possibilities to boost cooperation in sectors of mutual interest, to expand and diversify mutual commodity exchanges were examined.

At the end of the proceedings the co-chairmen of the commission, Gheorghe Badita, Romanian deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Qazi Shamsul Alam, deputy minister in the department of external resources of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, signed the protocol of the session. X X X

The head of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bangladesh had interviews with Stefan Andrei, Romanian deputy prime minister, Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, as well as with executives of the Foreign Ministry of Romania.

SCINTEIA Comments on Socialist State*AU0610090289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
2102 GMT 5 Oct 89*

["A State of Revolutionary Workers Democracy" - AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 5/10/1989—In its 5 October issue the newspaper of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] SCINTEIA runs an extensive article on this matter which stresses that the growth of the leading role of the party, of the socialist state is essential to the development and improvement of the socialist society. In the process of democratic management of society, mostly after the Ninth RCP Congress, our state continuously improved its functions. Long ago, in its definition of the content and character of state power the RCP gave up the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat, which no longer corresponded to the real class content of the socialist state, nor did it express its democratic essence. The old concept was replaced with that of state of revolutionary worker democracy, which correctly reflected the content of power in our society.

It was not only a the name that changed but also the outlook on the role and responsibility of the state, the intensification of its active cooperation with socialist

democracy bodies, with the masses of working people. The party general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, stressed in an interview granted in 1983: "we raised the question of giving up the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of adopting a thesis which should better reflect the current development stage of the Romanian socialist society, namely the thesis of the state of revolutionary worker democracy.

We said that socialism had always aimed at a democratic society; once the exploiting classes, the bourgeoisie were removed, the aim of the working class was to build a society in which the masses of people, the people itself may take an active part in the management of all sectors of activity".

In this complex process, the state does not only change its methods of work but also its deep-seated essence, becoming a state of revolutionary worker democracy which makes of the people's participation, in direct and representative forms, the main way to solve the problems of socialist construction, to permanently improve it.

This fact, characteristic of the Romanian society, expresses the superiority of the socialist state over any other type of state, the capitalist one included. In this respect, the theses for the fourteenth congress show that in the present day world two diametrically opposed orientations are confronting each other: the socialist state, where the people hold the power and the capitalist state where monopolies, an exploiting minority dominate the people. "It is inconceivable that the socialist state should borrow forms typical to the capitalist system, historically outdated and doomed to disappear, but must improve itself continually in accordance with the new laws of social development," the theses show.

The superiority of the socialist state relies on solid foundations: the socialist property, of the whole people and cooperative property, the national plan of economic and social development and the policy of scientific distribution of the national income for accumulation and consumption. An efficient participation of the state in the settlement of the problems of building the new society requires the strengthening and development of socialist property, planned scientific management. Any experiment bringing about the division of the big socialist property, the renunciation of unitary planning, a passage to the "market economy", to "regulation" through prices, can result in nothing else but disorder and disorganization, anarchy in economic activities, in society.

Therefore the socialist state cannot give up the revolutionary principles, its role of defender of the interests of the working class, the leading force in society.

The state did not remain unchanged after the people won the power lead by the party. Ample renewing changes occurred within it, in step with the improvement of the entire socioeconomic structure of society. A new state

system was actually built, superior to the old one, both in its democratic, socialist essence and in the content of its entire activity.

The state has become the political organization of the people's power. It is socialist not only because the new system in Romania is socialist but also and particularly because its foundation is socialist. Ownership, production, distribution, basic elements of society's progress, themselves grounded on socialist principles, determine the democratic character of the Romanian state. The democratic essence of the state has strengthened continually due to economic, political and social factors. One of these factors, central to the improvement of state's activity is the consolidation of the relations of full equality among all the citizens of the homeland in the exercise of state power in conditions of growing role of the working class as the leading social class. Of particular significance in principle and in practice in the thesis formulated by President Nicolae Ceausescu according to which the leading role of the working class in our socialist society must be achieved not only by its representatives in various forums but also in the direct active and responsible participation of the working people in making, adopting and implementing decisions concerning the proper course of the economic and social activity in each enterprise and institution and in society as a whole.

A telling expression of this orientation is the institutionalization, 20 years ago, of the system of worker self-management and in close connection with it the economic-financial self-administration, the system of democratic management of society.

In the spirit of the principle of building socialism with the people and for the people the RCP worked and works steadily to create, develop and improve the forms of democratic management, meant to ensure the participation of all social classes and segments, of all people in governing society, in debating and implementing the country's home and foreign policy. The profoundly democratic bodies in our country, the working people's councils, the general meetings, high forums of the owners, producers and beneficiaries in the management of all economic and social activities, the county bodies, the congresses of the working people, of agriculture science, education and culture, as well as the national management councils in between congresses make up the framework for an organized participation of all the country's citizens in the management of society, in the elaboration and implementation of Romania's home and foreign policy.

Life attests to the correctness of this genuine system of our revolutionary worker democracy. At the same time, facts show that the country can develop only in conditions of a unitary management of the national economy. The unitary management of the economic and social activities, under the national plan, ensures the harmonization of the interests of each collectivity with the

general interests of society. As the theses for the Fourteenth Congress show, the renunciation of the management of economic and social development on the basis of the plan can result only in the disorganization of activity, in the emergence of contradictions with grave repercussions on the socialist society.

The experience gained in socialist construction in Romania, the facts related to the growing democratic character of our socialist state offer thorough arguments to combat the theories also aimed at diminishing the role of the party, of the state, of socialist property, at underestimating the importance of the unitary action of these factors in the building of the new system.

The theses for the Fourteenth Congress stress that the RCP considers the conception on a return to the multi-party system in socialism as wrong and profoundly harmful as it opens the path to going back to the anachronical forms of the capitalist political system.

Life proves that in the new conditions, created after the disappearance of the exploiting classes, the existence of a single party of the working class and the strengthening of the people's unity round it is an objective historical necessity. The broad system of socialist democracy fully ensures the possibility and the framework for the working people to freely express their opinions for an effectively participation of all social categories in the management of society. This thesis is all the more viable in the current stage when the Romanian socialist society has to solve new problems concerning ways to develop the forces of production, to improve social relations, in step with the new revolution in science and technology, the new agrarian revolution, the revolution for the intensive and qualitative development of the country's economy. Under these circumstances, the management by the party, as a fundamental requisite of the scientific management of society, acquires an even greater significance.

In the present stage, the party asserts its leading role in all areas of the economic and social life, in productive activities, in scientific creation, in education and culture, in the political-educative and ideological activity. As the documents for the Fourteenth Congress points out, the party has in the current stage too, the historic mission to ceaselessly work for the enhancement of the role of the state, for the continuous improvement of its activity. This requirement is underlain by the fact that, just as at present, in the future too, for a long time, society will not be able to do without a body of unitary management of the entire activity.

In our society, the entire activity of the party, of the state is carried on together with the masses, with all people, with the direct participation of the party bodies and organizations, of the democratic organizations in enterprises, farming units, scientific, learning, cultural, health institutions in the settlement of all problems. This broad democratic system will further be improved, as the state of revolutionary worker democracy is a basic factor in

steadfastly raising Romania onto ever higher summit of progress and civilization, SCINTEIA writes in conclusion.

Ceausescu, Wife Begin Visit to Bistrita County

*AU1410201389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1800 GMT 14 Oct 89*

[“President Nicolae Ceausescu on a Working Visit in The County of Bistrita-Nasaud”—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 14/10/1989—In the afternoon of 14 October, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu began a working visit in Romania's northern County of Bistrita-Nasaud.

Taking part in the visit are Emil Bobu and Silviu Curticeanu.

The visit started in the town of Beclean on River Some where a metallurgical enterprise was seen round as well as a carpet factory, both being young industrial units where thousands of the towns residents work. In the afternoon of the same day President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu arrived at Nasaud where they visited a textile mill and a plastic materials processing unit.

On their way to the County of Bistrita-Nasaud, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu stopped in the City of Cluj-Napoca.

Visit Continues

*AU1510183189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1919 GMT 15 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/10/1989—Sunday, 15 October, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu continued their working visit to Bistrita-Nasaud County.

At the state agricultural enterprise of Jelna, the party general secretary analysed, together with managerial staff in the county and of the Ministry of Agriculture, with experts and workers in the field, priority questions related to the development of agriculture in this part of the country, especially to a growing productive potential of land. Questions were also approached with regard to a better organization of the territory and the locality network in the county.

President Nicolae Ceausescu visited next a comprehensive exhibition that displayed a great diversity of agricultural products, fruit, products of the small industry and of animal farming obtained by the state agricultural enterprise visited, by the producer cooperative farm “Satu Nou” and by other farming units in the county, which evinced the success that can be scored through a firm commitment to socialist agriculture.

The visit continued to one of the animal farms of the Jelna state agricultural enterprise.

On leaving, the party general secretary said he could notice that both the Jelna state agricultural enterprise and the Satu Nou producer cooperative farm just as the whole county scored good results, on which the president congratulated the workers and wished them to obtain record yields in the year to come.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu continue their working visit to Bistrita-Nasaud County.

Industrial Units Viewed

AU1610165789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1605 GMT 16 Oct 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Industrial Units in Bistrita Municipality"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/10/1989—On October 16 in the morning, the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu continued the working visit they started in the county of Bistrita Nasaud on October 14.

For two days the activity was analyzed carried on in the industrial enterprises of the localities of Beclean and Nasaud, as well as at the Jelna State Farming Enterprise. Today the RCP and Romanian state leader conducted a working dialogue with working people and experts in the economic units of the municipality of Bistrita, the county seat.

In recent years, the respective municipality has known tremendous economic and social development. Numerous enterprises were built there and their products are well known and highly appreciated both in this country and abroad. Bistrita's marketable production in terms of value stands at roughly eight billion lei this year. With the development of the municipality's industry roughly 43,000 working places were created, 21,000 flats were built and so were numerous social and cultural units, which impart to the Transylvanian settlement a distinct architectural personality.

The programme of the October 16 visit included the technological equipment manufacturing enterprise, specializing in equipment for environmental pollution control, equipment for the power industry, metallurgy, chemistry and the refractory materials industry (this unit is the major producer of like products in the national economy), the mechanical enterprise, the woodworking combine and the combed wool spinning mill.

Just like the other units seen round, in these enterprises, too, the work done and the achievements scored this year and in the current quinquennium were examined, as well as the actions to be taken to develop production units, apply the latest gains of science and technology to production processes, take the entire activity on to

higher levels of quality and efficiency and properly fulfill their tasks under the development plans and programmes for the country as a whole were examined.

The analysis continued during a meeting with the members of the Bureau of the county committee of the RCP.

At the end of the working visit to Bistrita a great civic rally was held when President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

Stop in Tirgu Mures

AU1610185189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1742 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/10/1989—On October 16 in the morning, the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu continued the working visit they started in the county of Bistrita Nasaud on October 14. [passage omitted]

On his way to the capital city, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu stopped over at the airport in Tirgu Mures where they were welcomed by first secretary Viorel Igret, and the Bureau of the Mures County Committee of the RCP, by other representatives of local party and state bodies, by numerous residents of the county seat.

Rally Speech

AU1610120289 Bucharest SCINTEIA
in Romanian 17 Oct 89 p 1, 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at a mass rally in Bistrita Municipality on the occasion of his working visit to Bistrita Nasaud County]

[Text] Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, the Government, the State Council, and on my own behalf I would like to convey warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes to you, the participants in this big mass rally, and to all the inhabitants of Bistrita Municipality and Bistrita Nasaud County. [applause]

We are paying a working visit to your county and your municipality. We have visited eight industrial enterprises in Bistrita, Beclean, and Nasaud. We have visited a state agricultural cooperative and the exhibition about the results obtained in agriculture in Bistrita Nasaud County. We met with workers, peasants, intellectuals, men, women, young people and children, and scores of working people and citizens. Generally, we have gained good impressions from the work and activity of the working people in Bistrita Municipality and Bistrita Nasaud County. [applause]

In the years of the socialist construction, especially after the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]—which opened up a new stage in the socialist development of our homeland and dynamized the creative forces, rejected dogmatism, conservatism, and the kowtowing before everything that is foreign, and

restored the confidence of our people in their own forces—the Romanian people, under the leadership of our Communist Party, have achieved outstanding results that ensure a place for our country among those countries that have obtained the best results in this period. [applause]

As is well known, Romania's industrial output has increased 135-fold in the years that followed the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation that took place 45 years ago, out of which 120-fold has been in the period following the Ninth Congress. [applause]

Within this framework, Bistrita Nasaud County has also markedly developed, particularly in 1968 after the territorial-administrative reorganization, when counties were created, among them Bistrita Nasaud County. [applause]

During this 24-year period, and in the 21 years since the creation of the county, its output markedly increased and it underwent a great general development. For example, in 1965 the fixed assets represented 3 billion lei and now they have reached 32 billion, that is, they increased 10-fold. [applause]. Within this framework, the industrial commodity production increased over 17-fold this year, and next year, at the 25th anniversary of the Ninth Party Congress and the conclusion of the Eighth 5-year Plan, Bistrita Nasaud County will attain an industrial output that is 20 times greater than 25 years ago. [applause]

The number of working people in the field of industry has increased fourfold, agriculture has also developed markedly, and this year the county has obtained good crops in all agricultural areas. As a result of all these results scored by the county, the general standard of living has also improved. Bistrita itself has become a modern town, and in the other towns and localities the general standard of living and well-being of the citizens has also improved. The distribution of goods through socialist trade outlets increased fivefold compared with the year when the Ninth Party Congress took place. There are only a few countries that can boast such an achievement in their general development and in the general improvement of the people's well-being. [applause]

Everything that has been achieved in Bistrita Nasaud has been achieved in all counties of our homeland. The whole of Romania has greatly developed in all areas as a result of the fact that we have eliminated the bourgeois-landlord system forever and our people have become the true masters of the national wealth and of industry, agriculture, and all areas, and they are freely and independently building their socialist and communist future. [applause]

That is why, on the basis of the facts and of our achievements, we can state with justified pride that in a very short historical period the Romanian people, in complete unity and unflinchingly following the policy of the RCP, have been able to turn Romania from a poorly

developed agrarian-industrial country into a developed industrial-agrarian country, with strong, modern industry and with socialist agriculture whose progress is in full swing; all these results have been scored only through socialism. [applause]

We know very well what the old system represented: oppression, exploitation, and a low standard of living for our people, as well as the yoke and oppression of the imperialist countries' foreign monopolies, which for tens and hundreds of years exploited and oppressed the Romanian people. That is why our people, choosing the way of socialism, are determined to do all they can in order to ensure the continuous progress of our homeland on the road of socialism and the creation of all conditions which ensure the firm progress toward communism, because only in this way will we be able to ensure the continuous development of the level of civilization and of the well-being and happiness of our whole nation.

Today, in some capitalist and imperialist countries, there is much talk about the fact that, as a result of some lags that have cropped up in some socialist countries, they can take action aimed at halting socialist development and, if possible, they are thinking of a return to the old capitalist system. It is true that there are some so-called rich countries in the world, which have achieved their wealth through the exploitation of all nations, including our own nation, and we paid scores of billions in order to enable these few countries to achieve a development level that they have reached at a certain period. However, this policy which affected us and is still affecting more than two-thirds of developing countries, should be eliminated forever and we must ensure not a return to capitalism, but the victory of socialism throughout the world, as the only way to ensure the true independence and well-being of nations. [cheers, chants]

Dear Comrades, as I mentioned at the beginning, we gained good impressions from everything we saw, from the work and the activity of the working people in Bistrita Nasaud and Bistrita. Indeed, in the first 9 months of this year you fulfilled the industrial plan provisions with a 10-percent increase, and good results have been obtained in all areas. In agricultural production, just as in the entire country, wheat crops of over 8,000 kg per hectare have been achieved and the corn crop will be of over 20 tonnes per hectare, a crop that has never been achieved before, and which virtually places Romania among the countries with the greatest agricultural production per hectare. [applause]

For all these achievements in the field of industry, agriculture, and education and in the overall activity, I convey to all the working people in Bistrita and Bistrita Nasaud warm greetings and wishes for new achievements in all areas. [applause]

Indeed, we have achieved good results both in Bistrita and in our whole country. However, we still have some lags. Unfortunately, not everything is going smoothly, in accordance with our wishes and with our potential, but

we should better organize our whole activity and should work with greater responsibility. During the meeting with the Bureau of the County Party Committee and in the enterprises that we visited, we discussed issues concerning a better organization of activity and a better utilization of our available means in order to double industrial production. It is possible to achieve it and we must do it. This will raise the entire county to a much higher level of development than the current level. [cheers, chants]

The output of 8,000 kg of wheat per hectare is a good result, a very good one. Nevertheless, we have cooperatives which have obtained over 12,000 kg of wheat per hectare and they themselves propose the achievement of even greater production next year. You have obtained a very good output of 20,000 kg of corn per hectare, but you have read in SCINTEIA that a production cooperative in Ialomita County has obtained 41,000 kg per hectare and set itself the task of obtaining 50,000 kg per hectare next year. This is the potential of our socialist agriculture. [applause]

Undoubtedly, more than 80,000 kg of potatoes and more than 100,000 kg of beets per hectare are good yields. However, it is not the upper limit; you have to go beyond this. These are the targets of the new agrarian revolution and in this way we will ensure an increase in both the incomes of cooperative farmers, the whole peasantry, and of the working people in agriculture, and thus we will also increase agriculture's contribution to the development of our country in general. On the basis of increased production, we have to proceed toward communism, which will ensure an abundance of supplies in all areas. [cheers, chants]

Dear Comrades, it is necessary for the working people in Bistrita, for the party organization, the working people's councils, and the general meetings in all areas to work with greater responsibility in discussing the documents for the 14th party congress. All units, all towns and communes have to formulate the programs for the socioeconomic development of all localities on the basis of the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-sufficiency. We must see to it that each socioeconomic unit in all areas will work solely on the basis of the principles of self-management and self-administration and with a high level of efficiency and profitability. We have to make sure that each commune has its own socioeconomic development program, primarily regarding agriculture, small-scale industry, and investments, so that both the citizens of communes and villages will have everything they need for a dignified and civilized life. Let us bring the level of development and the standard of living of villagers closer to that of the people in cities, and let us proceed together toward communism. [cheers, chants]

The vigorous development in Bistrita and in the other counties makes it possible for us to look with confidence to the future development of Bistrita, along with all counties and with the whole country, so that it can hold

an even more important place among all counties, and so that it is able to ensure—under these conditions—a general improvement in the level of civilization in all areas. We not only have good outputs, but also a better level of education. Let us arm the entire youth and all working people with the most modern knowledge in all areas, because only people with a high standard of technical culture and scientific knowledge will be able to ensure our homeland's progress and the victory of communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Let us constantly concern ourselves with improving the standard of culture and the political-educational activity. The Song to Romania festival has to become a vigorous force of increasing revolutionary awareness and arming all our people and our youth with the most modern knowledge in all fields on the basis of the revolutionary concept on the world, of scientific socialism, and dialectical and historical materialism, so as to give new prospects to the builders of socialism and communism as people who are truly free, both materially and intellectually. Only people who will always have confidence in their forces and their future will be the true builders of communism. [cheers, chants]

You are familiar with the documents of the 14th congress. There are only 34 days left before it starts. Let us do all we can so that the working people in Bistrita, too, will come to the congress with the best of achievements in all areas. Let us see to it that the discussion of the documents that will be adopted by the congress will ensure excellent prospects for the Ninth 5-Year Plan and up to the year 2000-2010 under conditions of Romania's transition to the implementation of the principles of communist work and pay. [cheers, chants]

Based on everything that has been achieved in the year of socialist construction, especially in the wake of the Ninth Party Congress, and based on the guidelines and principles of the construction of the new system in Romania, the 14th congress will sum up our great achievements and will open up new prospects for unflinchingly implementing the principles of scientific socialism and the objective laws, which are concretely applied in a different way in each country, but which are a guarantee for the march forward toward a better and more just world. We have everything that is needed—both materially and intellectually—and we have a powerful democratic system for managing society and for the participation of all people in the management of all areas.

Let us work in close cooperation and unity with the people to build socialism with the people and for the people, for the well-being and happiness, and independence of our people. [cheers, chants]

Here in Bistrita I would like to reply to some gentlemen who ask: Is there no sign that the Romanians will also take some measures as were taken in Hungary or Poland? Do they not think of renouncing the development of socialist ownership and turning to small-scale capitalist ownership? And here I want to answer them, before the

plenum that will take place in 10 days: We are not thinking of any such a thing.

We have known small-scale ownership, both industrial and agricultural, and we have known imperialist oppression. Neither do we want to be the slaves of domestic capitalism nor—and even less so—the slaves of foreign capitalists and imperialists. [cheers, chants]

These gentlemen should not have any illusions and should not have any such concern. No one in Romania will ever work for them. The Romanian people—the workers and peasants—will work for themselves and for their own well-being and independence. [cheers, chants]

Perfecting the activity of socialist construction and the development of democracy is something we achieved in the wake of the Ninth Party Congress, and we do this every single year and month, because we know very well that nothing is perfect and will never ever be perfect. With every passing day we have to become more perfect and, in general, every enterprise, and ultimately each citizen has to become more perfect; we must improve our training, professional, and cultural standard in general. The more perfect we become with every passing day in all areas, the better we will ensure our progress, well-being, and happiness. [cheers, chants]

At this big mass rally in Bistrita, I would like to repeat what I said recently that the expectations of these gentlemen may come true when poplars bear apples and osier willows bear carnations, as the Romanians say. But even then this will not be possible. [cheers, chants] Why is this so, dear comrades? Because science in the field of genetics has made very great progress and it is possible for us to make even poplars bear apples and the osier willows bear carnations. However, we will never ever return to capitalism. [cheers, chants]

In close unity, the working people and all citizens of Bistrita, together with the whole nation, have to work to raise all their activities to an ever higher level, to perfect all sectors of activity, and to see to it that all working people's councils, the people's councils, the general meetings, and the party organizations fulfill their role in the general development of our homeland under favorable conditions and in complete unity. Let us raise the level of revolutionary awareness to such a level that both the Communists, the socialist democracy organizations, and trade unions in cities and villages will proceed together and bring the level of understanding and development of our people closer; this is the way to elevate our people in general and ensure their conscious participation in the management of all sectors of activity. The people are the true master of the whole country. In each unit, each commune, and town the working people and all citizens have to work in complete unity and do all they can, so that the local management bodies will be able to fulfill their role of working for the people and for their well-being and happiness. [cheers, chants]

It is in this spirit that we view Romania's future development. In this spirit we believe that the 14th Party

Congress will provide new horizons and new prospects for the development of our homeland in general and for improving our people's well-being, thus ensuring the best of conditions, so that each citizen and we, together, in complete unity will be truly free and masters in our homeland, and able to ensure our full independence and security. [cheers, chants]

Let us work so that each individual makes his contribution to implementing the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and creating conditions for our transition, after the year 2000, to the affirmation in practice of the principles of communist work and life. [cheers, chants]

Dear Comrades, there is a complete dialectical unity between the policy of socialist construction and the international activity of disarmament, peace, and cooperation with all countries of the world, regardless of their social system. We should give priority to finding solutions to the problems of our homeland's socialist development and we should do all we can to contribute to a new international policy of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, of complete elimination and destruction of nuclear and chemical weapons, and of radical reduction of conventional weapons. We are fully aware—and our whole nation and all the other nations must understand this—that the existence of nuclear weapons represents a danger of destroying not only the whole of mankind, but the existence of life itself on our planet. That is why we should not rest idle but do all we can to bring about the elimination of all nuclear weapons from our planet. [applause]

As far as Romania is concerned, it has not only worked and continues to work for the reduction of conventional weapons, but more than that, it has ensured a unilateral military reduction, consulting our whole nation within the framework of a referendum. We have done this because we believe that we must do all we can in order to implement these programs of conventional disarmament and of cutting back military expenditures. I must mention that Romania, as a member of one of the two military blocs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, has the smallest amount of military expenditure per capita in Europe. As far as our neighbors are concerned, there is no neighbor that does not have two or three times the military expenditures per capita that we have. I am not talking about the Soviet Union, which has even greater expenditures, but certainly it has other obligations and problems to solve. However, I am talking about our immediate neighbors. All these countries have two or three times greater military expenditures per capita than the expenditure that Romania has. And I want to make you understand this fact well: This reduction has helped us a lot in the general development of our country, and without this military reduction we could not have been able to eliminate our foreign debts this spring. One cannot continue with military expenditures—which are useless most of the time—and ensure the development and improvement of the general well-being of the people. I stress this fact because disarmament is the way to

eliminate many difficulties in all the countries of the world, and to ensure peace and the general well-being of peoples. [cheers, chants]

We are determined to work with the utmost resolution, in complete unity with socialist countries and European countries, as well as with all countries throughout the world, in order to achieve disarmament and a world with the smallest possible amount of weapons, and in the future, to achieve a world without weapons and wars. As a matter of fact, these are the principles of scientific socialism and all of us, all the progressive forces should act in this direction, because this will ensure a free and independent future for all the nations throughout the world. [cheers, chants]

We advocate peaceful and negotiated solutions to all interstate conflicts and a halt to all military conflicts and to interference of some countries in the affairs of other countries. It is necessary to firmly base all interstate relations on the principles of complete equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, respect for the right of each nation to develop freely, as it wishes, without any outside interference. [cheers, chants]

Two-thirds of mankind live under conditions of under-development. During this decade, poverty has increased, the income of developing countries has decreased, and annually scores of billions from these countries have gone into the hands of the monopolies and the financial capital in industrialized capitalist countries. Instead of allotting sums for the assistance of developing countries, the developing countries actually have financed the development of these countries. This is a situation that cannot continue any longer and must be eliminated forever, in the shortest time possible. It is necessary to convene an international conference on issues of under-development and resolve the problem of developing countries' foreign debt, ensure a true equality in the socioeconomic development, and achieve a new economic order. Only in this way can we eliminate or create conditions to eliminate such states of affairs and ensure the progress of those countries that lag behind and ensure the balanced development of world economy of all countries, and achieve a world of cooperation and peace, a better and more just world. [cheers, chants]

We are firmly determined to continue to work for the development of cooperation and relations with all countries of the world, with socialist countries, developing countries, and developed capitalist countries, on the basis of full equality of rights and noninterference in domestic affairs. We wish to broadly develop international economic exchanges and relations and actively participate in finding solutions to the world's problems—military, political, social, and economic problems. Let us do all we can and see to it that genuinely new relations, as well as confidence and cooperation among all the nations of the world are achieved in Europe and throughout the world. Only such a policy and such a way of acting is fully in keeping with the interests of all

peoples and all nations, and as far as we are concerned, we will do all we can to ensure the triumph of such a policy of equality and cooperation among all the nations of the world. [cheers, chants]

It is true that there are many serious problems which are difficult to solve. However, we are completely confident that the progressive and anti-imperialist forces everywhere, all nations in socialist countries and in developing countries, and the peoples in developed capitalist countries will strengthen cooperation and solidarity in order to work in concert to find solutions to these problems and ensure peace and the development of each nation, as well as a better and more just world on our planet. We are confident that, when united, peoples will ensure the triumph of a new policy. [cheers, chants]

Dear Comrades, once again I would like to mention with great satisfaction that we gained good impressions from everything we have seen in Bistrita and in Bistrita Nasaud and from the meetings with the working people in all areas and with all those who, in this part of the country, are building socialism and making their contribution to the general development of our homeland. I am completely confident that the working people in Bistrita will do all they can in order to appropriately implement all the programs for socioeconomic development and for ensuring the general progress of the county and will make an increasingly greater contribution to the overall development of our homeland. I am confident that all the bodies of the workers revolutionary democracy and the party organizations, in close unity with all the working people, will do all they can to welcome the 14th RCP Congress with increasingly better results in all areas and I wish you, dear comrades, to achieve a front-ranking place, or if possible even the first place in the great competition among counties, and I would welcome such an achievement. [cheers, chants]

With this wish and conviction I extend to all of you wishes for increasingly greater successes and achievements in all areas, much good health and happiness, goodbye dear comrades! [cheers, chants]

Meets Party Bureau

AU1910125589 Bucharest SCINTEIA
in Romanian 17 Oct 89 p 4

["Meeting with the Members of the Bistrita-Nasaud County Party Bureau"]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, on Monday morning met with the members of the Bistrita-Nasaud County Party Bureau.

During the meeting, the first secretary of the county party committee reported on the work carried out and the achievements attained since the beginning of the year in industry, export, investments, agriculture, and in the other sectors, and also described the measures taken to

eliminate shortfalls and raise all activities to a qualitatively higher level in order to commendably fulfill tasks set for the county in 1989 under the current 5-year plan.

On the basis of this report and the conclusions drawn during his visit, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that, although positive results have been achieved in general, they are not up to the level of the powerful technical and human potential available in the county.

The party secretary general requested that firm action be taken to ensure the proper organization and progress of productive activities and the complete utilization of production capacities and of all available resources in order to raise the technical and qualitative level of products, develop small-scale industry, and ensure a twofold increase in the county's industrial output in the next 2 years.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu also emphasized the need to make more efficient use of the great potential available in the county's agriculture, in order to achieve ever higher yields and to better capitalize on them.

The party secretary general also recommended that particular attention be paid to the plans for the development and modernization of all county settlements and to improving their level of civilization.

The speaker emphasized that the fulfillment of the important targets set for the county require intensified political-organizational, political-ideological, and cultural-educational work, a constant improvement in the work style and methods of the county committee and of all party organizations and bodies, and it requires the upgrading of their role in organizing and managing all activities in all areas, as well as the constant strengthening of the revolutionary spirit and of responsibility for fulfilling the provisions of the industrial and agricultural production plan, and implementing the regional socioeconomic development programs.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his confidence that the county party organization, the Communists, and all working people in Bistrita-Nasaud County will make greater efforts to fulfill this year's plan and the overall 5-year plan, as well as all targets aimed at the county's many-sided development under conditions of high quality and efficiency.

Loncar Reports on Nonaligned Summit, Activities

*LD1910223989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1740 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—The non-aligned countries which call for dialogue and whose concerns are in line with world trends, are becoming an increasingly interesting partner for all major world factors, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said today.

In a report submitted to the Assembly of Yugoslavia Federal Chamber, Loncar said that the ninth non-aligned summit held in Belgrade last month had drawn attention to the dramatic state of international economic and social affairs and had taken a positive approach to the current political changes and processes in the world.

The foreign secretary of Yugoslavia, the chairman-country of the Nonaligned Movement for the next three years, said that the Belgrade summit had pointed up also to the need for the demilitarization of international relations, the engagement of all of mankind for the protection of the human environment, the enhancement of human rights and the eradication of terrorism, narcotics and other evils in the present-day world.

Foreign Secretary Loncar set out that the way many countries, even those which belong to military-political blocs, to attend the Belgrade summit in the property of guests had confirmed a new value of the ideas of non-alignment. He underscored that the reactions to the summit's outcome had been positive and favourable beyond expectation.

Mankind understands that "the policy and movement of non-alignment have joined contemporary processes, imparted their own impulses to them, as an irreplaceable factor in the new distribution of forces in international relations, and, thereby, become a factor which will influence the creation of a further balance of interests, with a view to strengthening detente," Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Loncar set out.

Loncar in conclusion said that the Assembly of Yugoslavia Federal Chamber would by the end of the year discuss the concrete tasks and possibilities which face the Nonaligned Movement, and Yugoslavia, as its chairman-country.

Albanian Delegation Holds Talks in Zagreb

*AU2210195089 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 89 p 9*

[TANJUG report: "An Expansion of Economic Relations"]

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Oct—Ivica Trnkokop, president of the Republican Committee for Relations with Foreign Countries of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, had talks today with Farudin Hoxha, a minister in the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, on the

possibilities of expanding economic cooperation, particularly in the field of power generation, the construction of electrical machinery, mining and ore processing, agriculture, tourism, and the chemical industry.

The talks underscored the need to expand and strengthen economic cooperation as a prerequisite for the further development of better good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the interests of both sides. During the day-long visit to Zagreb, the delegation from the People's Republic of Albania headed by Minister Farudin Hoxha, visited the INA and Rade Koncar work organizations. Specific talks were conducted concerning Albania's plans to investigate ore supplies and the construction of many small, medium, and large hydro-electric power stations. In this respect, there are considerable opportunities for the use of equipment from the Rade Koncar work organization which has been present in Albania for a number of years with its transformer stations and long distance power lines which work to the satisfaction of the users.

Socialist Alliance Federal Conference Meets

Women's Issues President Elected

*LD1810214989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 18 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—Today, delegates of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia federal conference elected Nadezda Saranovic as president of the conference for the Issues of Social Status of Yugoslav Women. The term of office of the former president of the conference, Zofka Klemen-Krek, had expired.

Kotar Addresses Conference

*LD1810173889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0205 GMT 18 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—One of the tasks of modern socialism is to expand the boundaries of social freedoms more quickly. One of the great illusions was to think that a narrow circle of politicians at the top can replace the creativity and capabilities of millions of citizens, experts, and scientists who not only wish but are also prepared to create living conditions more suitable to their needs. Marjan Kotar, member of the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] federal conference, said today at a session of the SAWPY federal conference in his introductory report on political pluralism under socialist self-managing democracy.

Another of our illusions was the view that behind the screen of monolithism it would be easier to overcome difficulties and numerous social contradictions and problems which exist in reality. Strict state and party control over democratic and unorthodox public opinion provide a fertile ground for the spread of dogmatism, arbitrariness, and the lack of accountability in the

bureaucracy for social development. Manifestations of this kind, deprived of sharp critical thinking and the free flow of new ideas about possible directions of social development, has served to create a bureaucratized, sluggish League of Communists [LC] short of ideas and with it—or rather, under its influence—sociopolitical organizations of the same kind. We must not see this kind of development as a rule or as a sole, objectively possible, result of developing self-management-based socialism. [passage omitted]

According to Kotar, the Socialist Alliance must work toward institutionalizing and defending the right to differing opinions, toward introducing differing ideas, initiatives, and programs, and toward promoting public critical opinion and the role of the public itself in all social activities, thus creating a defense against monopolistic authority and tendencies to absolutize and safeguard the system.

Political pluralism is a part of our reality and, objectively speaking, exist in Yugoslav society, he stressed. The Socialist Alliance has committed itself to developing self-management-based political pluralism and there is no dilemma about whether we should accept it as a basis of society's political organization. Our preoccupation now must be with the forms and contents in which various political interests are likely to be expressed in self-management-based socialism. The aim of today's debate is not to offer but jointly to search for solutions concerning our future development and prospects and also a reform within the SAWP.

Kotar went on to stress that by the adoption of constitutional amendments, and especially those in the sphere of economic relations, realistic conditions have been created for separating the economy from politics and for abolishing monopolies in the economy. The depth and the complex nature of the amendments, Kotar added, call for an urgent change in the political system, because it is obvious that the political system has to be changed if the changes in the nature of ownership and structure in the economy are to be effective. It is becoming increasingly clear that the various forms of economic organization, made possible by the constitutional amendments, cannot function efficiently under the existing delegate-assembly-based organization of power, nor can they make their full contribution to efforts to further modernize the economic system and to make it more efficient. This is all the more so since a free-market economy is inseparable from freedom of thought, speech, and of political association.

The awareness that society's problems cannot be resolved in a single and predetermined way has led to sharp and well-founded criticism of the present monistic system of political organization and decision-making. This has also had an effect on the rise of political pluralism, Kotar said. In Yugoslavia there are two differing views of it, however. According to the first one, which proceeds from the dogmatic view of socialism and of the state as the ultimate, perfect community, the

existence of political pluralism should be questioned. Under the other, political pluralism is justified since it provides opportunities for competition in the struggle for the economic and political development of society and socialism. The Socialist Alliance has the task of developing a political pluralism as the working people's and citizens' right to express differing views about the development of socialist, self-managing, economic, social, and other relations and also as the right to organized association with the aim of fulfilling their interests. [passage omitted]

A debate on political pluralism implies a debate on both reform of the political system as a whole and of the Socialist Alliance itself, Kotar stressed. The wave of new alliances and associations of citizens has confronted us with the question of when and why did the Socialist Alliance lose its clear political profile of an organization capable, on the basis of the democratic traditions of our socialist revolution and popular front, of uniting all social forces regardless of differences in their ideologies and practical policy but which accepts the socialist and self-managing character of our society and its political system.

It would have been more natural if political pluralism were to have developed within such a Socialist Alliance than to have emerged as a result of general democratization of society outside our ossified organization. This is why we are trying now to integrate political pluralism within our organization. It should, however, be added that to some extent the Socialist Alliance provided scope for the pluralism of self-managing and political interests, for differing views on and options concerning many issues. However, this obviously was not enough to satisfy all socialist and democratically oriented individuals and groups, he noted, which leads to the conclusion that pluralism remained outside the Socialist Alliance precisely due to our organization's weaknesses. It left very little scope for the activity of individual members while at the same time it was increasingly functioning as a transmission belt for the LC.

Having said that political pluralism is imminent in self-management based socialism, Kotar added that from the viewpoint of the political system its importance lies in the need for democratizing the decision-making process which should permanently be under the control of the public. However, an answer is needed to the question: Through which forms can organized political interests be expressed and where to find the point of their confrontation or possible synthesis? In his view, political interest should be freely organized in accordance with provisions of the SFRY Constitution and, above all, with the rights and freedoms of citizens whose activity and public role are crucial for democratic processes. One of the conditions of this is the guarantee of citizens' fundamental political freedoms and rights including the freedom of association as one of the main instruments in not just the political but also social and socioeconomic action. This freedom gives citizens the right to form voluntary communities in order to realize their most diversified, including political, interests.

Implementation of this right should not, however, depend solely on administrative organs and their approval especially since the constitution envisions the possibility of restricting this freedom only when there are specific signs that it is being abused.

On the other hand, it is necessary to observe all the restrictions accepted by all civilized societies. This means that the right to political association must not be used to foment national, religious, or racial intolerance or to interfere with the foundations of the political system, etc. If the Socialist Alliance fails to fulfill this, scope will be provided for the rise of some kind of quasi-pluralism or growing politicization of the various forms of citizens' association—from cultural to professions associations who do not have political activity as their main goal. [passage omitted]

The issue of organized political interests in the form of citizens' associations and alliances is not politically controversial, Marjan Kotar said. There is no theoretical doubt that such forms of organization could be given the status of subjective forces of socialist conscience providing there is no danger of a single political monopoly becoming a polycentric one or even a system of independent parties and providing the new forms of association are given their place within the Socialist Alliance. In other words, if the SFRY's constitutional and legal system are respected, our future plan includes the development of nonparty pluralism. This view has been adopted by the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference. [passage omitted]

It is our view that the SAWP's social role should be reflected in the statutes of citizens' association, in other words, our positive opinion of the statute would be enough for the registration. The state must ensure that the activity of these associations is within the law and should not try to restrict the citizens' right of association, Kotar specified. It is therefore necessary as soon as possible to change the existing regulations and speed up work on a federal law on citizens' associations the foundations for which have been provided by the amendments to the SFRY Constitution.

However, this does not mean that the Socialist Alliance will accept and include all new alliances or social movements just because our definition of pluralism is so wide-ranging and open. A prerequisite for accepting new associations and movements into the Socialist Alliance will be at least a minimal degree of harmony between the programs. If a program does not undermine the system of socialist democracy and self-management it will not be automatically rejected just because it is different from ours. [passage omitted]

There is no doubt that a system with party pluralism provides much wider political scope for democratic competition among political forces, that it suppresses and restricts political and party monopolies, and ensures a more efficient control over authority, Kotar said. However, it is also a fact that pure, traditional party

pluralism has not solved the problem of either party monopolies or of the freedoms and rights to political activity and associations. Democratic development must be aimed at overcoming any kind of monopoly, either single or multiparty. The forthcoming reform of the Socialist Alliance which must make provisions for freedom of association and influence by citizens is therefore a vital and necessary condition of democracy. This must happen very quickly because people are no longer prepared to wait for another 40 years to have rights fulfilled, said Marjan Kotar, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, said in conclusion.

More on Conference

LD1910094689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—The session of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference is being held in Belgrade today. The session discusses political pluralism under conditions of socialist, self-managing democracy. Political pluralism is already a reality on the Yugoslav political scene, and thus the question is not whether it should be acknowledged, but how. [passage omitted]

Today's session confirmed the election of new delegates and members of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium. From Montenegro, Dr Pavle Bogetic was elected in place of Nenad Bucin; from the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council, Andjelko Vasic replaced Zvonimir Hrabar; from the Federation of National Liberation War Veterans Association Federal Board; Risto Dzunov replaced Milan Pribic; from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, Ljubomir Varoslija and Ivica Racan replaced Bosko Kronic and Milenko Renovica. Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is an ex officio member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium. [passage omitted]

The trade unions, Marjan Orozen said while presenting assessments of the presidium of this organization, believe that pluralism already exists, but that a serious move has not been made to acknowledge it as a real force. Orozen also recalled that citizens have the right to association, not excluding the possibility of forming their own parties. According to him, movements rather than classical parties are more suitable for our country. He also noted that economic, as well as political democracy should be discussed.

[passage omitted]

Citizens should be allowed to organize themselves outside the SAWPY, too, so long as their activity is within the framework of constitutional norms, said Anita Bara, adding that the clause on the vanguard role of the League of Communists [LC] should be crossed out from a new highest legal document, which does not mean the LC's withdrawal from the political scene. According to her,

nonparty pluralism is a mimicry and a form of prolongation of one-party monopoly. Noting the arguments most frequently put forward against multiparty system (prewar experience and a possibility of national divisions), she stressed that the experience of prewar Yugoslavia, which did not operate on the principle of consensus regarding national and social issues, cannot be authoritative and that we should not assume that citizens are incapable of rational behavior because we thereby say to them indirectly that they need a tutor. [passage omitted]

Pluralism already exists, in the view of Milan Daljevic, but how can it be made possible in our system to insure that it serves the future development of socialist self-management? Daljevic considered that a multiparty organization is not appropriate in our conditions because it would lead to national conflict. Referring to the depoliticization of the Yugoslav People's Army, he said that those who want to rid the army of communists are making a grave mistake. He stressed that there cannot be several parties in the army because arms are not to be trifled with. [passage omitted]

Political pluralism, Viktor Zakelj pointed out, is a cultural achievement, and is also a prospect for our society. It is a precondition for a market economy because without the free flow of capital and ideas, the expected economic reform cannot materialize in our country. Zakelj was opposed to the view that pluralism would weaken Yugoslavia. He held that it would freshen and strengthen the country. Reviewing the above-mentioned negative experiences with a multiparty system in prewar Yugoslavia, he noted that in a period of development of that state, political pluralism had positive effects. [passage omitted]

In our country, agreement on political pluralism is only apparent, Dragan Simeunovic said, and it is only a question of time when it will fall apart. Pluralism has not reached the level of universality, irrespective of the fact that it has been existing as long as this state. Simeunovic held that the basic issue is whether pluralism is possible today at all.

Dragan Simeunovic linked the possibility of political pluralism with a market economy and pluralism of ownership. Since there is no market without the free movement of capital and ideas, and alongside pluralism of ownership, political pluralism is inevitable. Simeunovic gave a short analysis of Yugoslavia's pluralistic experience so far, noting that it is characterized by two things: Scientists are absolutely in favor of pluralism, but there are great differences in concepts of the model for society. According to Dragan Simeunovic, there are five models. One is founded on Kardelj's teaching, the second is that pluralism is possible within the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] framework, then there is the model of realized mixed pluralism, the model of the classical multiparty system, and finally, the concept of a two-party society with the SAWP as an opposition to the LCY.

It is interesting, Simeunovic stressed, that everyone represents his model as the only one possible, although exclusivity is unnatural in pluralism. He believed that the assertions that one model of pluralism will prevail throughout Yugoslavia are illusory. A more likely reality is that in the republics, various pluralistic concepts will prevail in accordance with their constitutions.

Tone Anderlic expressed doubt as to how much we really want pluralism. He illustrated this with the comment that the majority of the leading figures of the new movements and associations were not present at today's session. Jelena Milojevic later replied that every one concerned with these issues was invited, but that the response had been poor. [passage omitted]

The final, 22d participant in today's debate on political pluralism, Ljubisa Zaric, considered that the barriers to pluralism are ideological, legal, and constitutional. He considered that pluralism is primarily a constitutional issue. When it comes to the possibility of pluralism, Zaric said, "our present system is a dogmatic apology for the status quo and by virtue of this is antipluralistic." He also believed that it is not necessary to await a new constitution for the legalization of pluralism. He proposed that several new amendments to the existing Constitution should be adopted.

Following the conclusion of the discussion, the Federal Conference working group was given the task of adding the proposals put forward in the debate to the draft stances on political pluralism and putting it forward for adoption by the conference delegates. [passage omitted]

Milorad Muratovic, the working group's reporter on the preparation of the Federal Conference's stances on political pluralism, then presented a considerably shorter and more concise final text of the document, which will be sent for public debate. In this document, it is stated that proceeding from the citizens' constitutional rights to freedom of association, the way out of the present difficulties must be sought in radical and democratic reforms of the social system which will make room for the democratic confrontation of ideas without the monopoly of the LC or administrative limitations.

It is essential, Muratovic noted, to construct more rapidly the institutional possibilities for the existence of differing interests and proposals in public life and in the political system. The Socialist Alliance should propose legal changes in order to remove the limitations on citizens' activity and to create the foundations for the unhindered realization of political pluralism within the limits of constitutional order.

Federations and associations should be allowed equal participation in the forthcoming delegate elections, and citizens should have complete freedom of organization, both within the SAWP and outside it, on condition that their platforms are founded on the basic constitutional orientations. These associations and federations may be banned if they advocate the violent destruction of the

constitutional order, terrorism, a threat to the territorial integrity of the country, or the incitement of national, religious, or racial hatred.

A key issue, Muratovic said, is to find institutional frameworks for the operation of new political initiatives, which means that the SAWP must rid itself of ideological prejudices. He added that it is essential to speed up work on the adoption of a federal law on the freedom of association, noting that the present practice whereby the internal affairs organs decide on the registration of new movements is unacceptable.

After Muratovic's speech, there were various proposals for the clarification of certain stances, including a query from Milan Daljevic as to what had become of the orientation in the introductory speech and the discussion that political pluralism should be developed "within the framework of the front." Muratovic replied that first it was necessary to see what the "front" was, and that it is precisely for this reason that the need to reform the SAWP is mentioned in the stances.

The delegates of the Yugoslav SAWP Federal Conference then adopted the "initial stances and orientations for the further activity of the SAWP in the realization of political pluralism." [passage omitted]

Standpoints Adopted

LD2210210989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1151 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—Political pluralism, which has already become reality in our country, is part of a bold and radical democratic reform in our society designed to provide a milieu in which various interests and views would clash or be harmonized in a democratic way without party monopoly or administrative restrictions. This is the main point of departure in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference standpoints on this most topical and probably most essential issue of our future development. The standpoints were adopted on 18 October and published today. The following is the full text of the document.

"1. Various economic, political, and other interests, views, and opinions as parts of our reality, make up the foundations of political pluralism based on the constitutional rights guaranteeing citizens the freedom to form associations and are the way for a wider mobilization of society's creative potentials with the aim of overcoming long and deep social crisis. It is therefore necessary to more quickly and boldly carry out such radical democratic reforms which in all areas of social life would provide scope for differing interests and views to clash or be harmonized in a democratic way and without party monopoly or administrative restrictions.

"The introduction of pluralism in the forms of ownership and the principle of market economy have provided a constitutional basis for such social orientation. These

two principles must be used as a basis on which to urgently carry out both comprehensive economic reform and appropriately thorough reform of the political system and the way in which society's subjective forces are organized and how they operate.

"It will be in the interest of democratization of our overall sociopolitical life if concrete institutionalized potentials are created for legitimizing the presence of various political and other interest groups and proposals in the country's political life in the decisionmaking process in the assembly and in the entire political system.

"The Socialist Alliance of Working People's [SAWP] immediate task is to launch an initiative to change legal and other normative frameworks restricting the possibility of legalizing political pluralism and consistently implementing and safeguarding people's constitutional freedoms and rights of association, public utterances, gatherings, and other public meetings, introduction of the rule of law, independent judiciary, free, direct, and secret elections, etc. As early as the next elections, newly formed associations and alliances must be given the opportunity to participate on an equal footing with other entities in society in the entire electoral procedure.

"Citizens' right of association implies full freedom to decide on the forms of association. Within or without the socialist alliance people must be free to form associations based on the socialist self-management system, principal constitutional provisions, and the achievements of our democratic development. While favoring a consistent observance of the constitutional right of association, the socialist alliance will at the same time oppose any kind of organization or activity designed to change the constitutional system by violent means, to threaten the country's territorial integrity, to weaken the SFRY's defense capability, to foment national, religious, or racial hatred, or to incite terrorism or any other form of violence."

"2. One of the key issues concerning the democratic reform of society is the search for new institutionalized forms of organization and activity for new political initiatives and for all progressive political forces of society.

"To this end both the socialist alliance and society as a whole must speed up efforts to rid themselves of ideological prejudices, administrative restrictions and obstacles, sectarian and dogmatic narrow-mindedness. Contribution to this is expected to be made also by new political alliances and associations which in the coming reform of the socialist alliance itself and of all subjective forces of society will have to be accepted as creative entities. To this end it is necessary to speed up work on a law providing for freedom of association, the constitutional basis for which has been provided by the amendments of November 1988.

"The program documents, goals, and activities of the newly formed alliances and associations are being subjected to public democratic verification. In the realization of the constitutional rights and freedoms to associate, it is vital to more decisively overcome in this area the domination of state organs and administrative regulation and develop the functions of the state's rule of law which should be implemented as a guarantee of constitutional rights and freedoms. Previous legal solutions and practice, according to which decisions are made on the founding and registration of new social organizations and political associations by administrative procedures of administrative organs of internal affairs, are unacceptable.

"3. It is essential to implement the fundamental reform of the SAWP in keeping with the demands of democratic political pluralism and on this basis overcome political monopoly, forum-style work, dogmatic sectarianism, and other weaknesses in the political work and activity of the SAWP. It is certain that the practice of political pluralism opens up new questions and challenges, and the democratic prospects of social development depend on the responses to them. Therefore the SAWP will stimulate scientific research and theoretical work on the concrete forms and contents of political pluralism in socialist self-managing society, reforming itself in accordance with the demands and results of scientific knowledge. On the bases of the initial stances and orientations in this document, the SAWP will organize the broadest democratic dialogue on current aspects of political pluralism, accompanied by the active participation of working people and citizens in all organizations and subjects of the front, in the new political alliances and associations and in scientific and specialist organizations and all other forms of the organization and activity of working people.

"4. For more profound democratic changes in society and especially in the political system, it is essential to speed up the work on adopting a new SFRY Constitution and in this way expand the constitutional and legal scope for implementing political pluralism in our society," the stances of the SAWPY on political pluralism say.

Session Views Political Pluralism

LD2210173189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1638 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Socialist Alliance a nation-wide mass socio-political organization, is going to raise an initiative for amending laws and other regulations so as to make possible the carrying out of its option for political pluralism in line with constitutional rights to organise, speak freely and hold public meetings, conclusions from the recent session of the Socialist Alliance's federal conference said today.

The Socialist Alliance is for a non-party pluralism, i.e. against a multi-party system, but also points out that various associations, political alliances or organisations should be in a position to choose whether they will act

within its organisation (as provided for by the [words indistinct, no close parenthesis as received] or outside it.

Coming out in favour of having differing interests democratically confront one another and get coordinated without party monopolies and administrative limits, the Socialist Alliance seeks after having work stepped up on bringing forward a new Yugoslav Constitution to make this possible.

Unacceptable are the present law solutions under which the matter of registering new organisations is decided by managing organs of home affairs, the conclusions have it. At the same time, they plead that new associations be accepted as creative political bodies and that it be made possible for them to take part on equal terms in parliamentary elections next spring.

In the Socialist Alliance's opinion, free is any getting associated not running counter the socialist self-management order, the constitutional order and democratic freedoms. [sentence as received] It is only against such getting organised and acting as wanting by force to reshape the constitutional order, i.e. which instigates any kind of terrorism and violence, threatens the country's territorial integrity and security or flares up nationalistic, religious and racial hatred.

Political pluralism is a part of a courageous and sweeping social reform, the conclusions say. Appealing that the political system's thorough-going reform be stepped up so as to make the legal state's functions stronger, secure the independence of the judiciary and free, secret and direct elections.

LCY's Racan Urges Continued Self-Management

LD1710203489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1848 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 17 (TANJUG) [word indistinct] presenting to the press today the draft party theses on changes in the political system of Yugoslavia, Presidency Member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Ivica Racan said that the communists would urge self-management "to remain a strategic foundation of Yugoslav socialism and ideology" but coupled with respect for market laws and the abandoning of the party's monopolistic position.

Racan said that all positive values of a multi-party system must be incorporated into the Yugoslav political system but that there must be avoided those aspects which boil down to the manipulation of citizens. He specified, in that context, that the communists were against a political pluralism which would be reduced to a traditional classic multi-party system.

A whole range of different approaches, from the most radical to the most restrictive, lie behind the formal calls for political pluralism, Racan said. The Yugoslav Communists want the citizen to be the one who will decide on the substance and form of his political organization, he specified.

The communists will also strive for a modern legal state, the independence and autonomy of courts, changes in the electoral system and a re-examination of the national legislature's structure, as Racan set out.

Racan assessed that the existing differences of opinions on changes in the political system, differences which he said were becoming increasingly pronounced as the adoption of a new federal constitution was drawing nearer, "are not as unsurmountable as it appears today."

Candidates for Croatian LC Presidency Named

LD1710173189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1610 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Zagreb, October 17 (TANJUG)—The candidates for the Presidency president of the League of Communists of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia were elected by secret ballot at the meetings of all party organizations in the republic held on October 13 and 14.

The elected candidates are: Ivo Druzic, party president of the republic's capital of Zagreb, and Ivica Racan, member of the Yugoslav party presidency, as the Election Commission of the LC of Croatia Central Committee reported today.

Around 200,000 of Croatia's communists or around 80 percent of the republic's party membership, directly voted for the first time for candidates for the highest party post in the republic. The LC of Croatia congress to be held late in the year will elect Croatia's party Presidency president from among the two candidates.

Central Committee Session Held

LD1910101489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0003 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Zagreb, October 18 (TANJUG)—The question of democratic centralism in future activity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] should be resolved by laying emphasis on democratic relations rather than on centralism, while leaving the minority the (right) to act constructively, a League of Communists [LC] of Croatia Central Committee session noted here on Wednesday.

The session discussed draft documents for the 14th Special Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, scheduled for January next year in Belgrade.

It also adopted a report on the direct declaration (referendum) of Croatian Communists on the candidates for bodies of the League of Communists of Croatia and those of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from Croatia. The session was told that over 203 thousand, or 78.67 percent of all party members in this Yugoslav republic, took part in the referendum, the first ever held among Yugoslav Communists.

The list of candidates was drawn up on the basis of the results of the referendum.

Speakers in the debate on the draft documents paid special attention to the proposed statutory changes. It was suggested to define more specifically the strategic questions such as those relating to the historic task and goal of the LCY, scientific socialism, collective work, responsibility and decision-making, and democratic centralism.

At the same time the so-called "rigid concept" of statutory changes, which reveals no serious intention of entering into deeper reforms in the League of Communists, came under criticism at the session. It was said to retain a traditional definition of the objectives of the LCY's struggle which pushes man to the margin and reduces him to a tool.

Attacks on the person and work of Josip Broz Tito were condemned, while [word indistinct] for a critical, scientific perception of his historic achievements was upheld at the session.

Vojvodina LC Names Candidates to LCY Committee

LD1810222789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Vojvodina LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee today drew up an initial list of 18 candidates for the top party leadership of the country.

The list comprises Sinisa Batalo, Radoman Bozovic, Janos Domokos, Mitar Janjic, Petar Kodru, Aleksandar Kovacevic, Jovanka Kovacevic, Svetozar Krstic, Ljubomir Medjasi, Bela Mihok, Biljana Mitrovic, Istvan Nadj, Radovan Pankov, Rajko Popovic, Stanko Radmilovic, Nedeljko Sipovac, Tomislav Vojvodic, and Radovan Vukadinovic.

The party organizations of Vojvodina will make their views known on these candidates by the end of the month, and at the 19th extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC the list will be shortened so that 13 or 14 candidates will be proposed to the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY, which elects 10 members of the LCY Central Committee from Vojvodina.

Pristina Election Conference Completes Work

LD1810223289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Pristina, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—The election conference of the Pristina League of Communists [LC] was held today in Pristina. The conference summarized the 4-year activity and established future tasks for this organization. Delegates elected a new municipal committee comprising 41 members. The first session of the committee elected its presidium consisting of 11 members. Dr Gani Jasari was reelected to the post of the president of the Pristina LC Organization Presidium, and Momcilo Trajkovic was reelected the secretary of the body.

Dr Gani Jasari's report and a 6-hour long discussion assessed that the progressive core of the Pristina municipal committee, first pointed out and then opposed the mistaken policies conducted by bureaucratic and nationalistic and opportunistic forces in the former municipal and provincial party top.

The new Pristina leadership first made a break from these forces among their ranks, and set in motion a consistent ideological differentiation with individuals and groups acting from the positions opposed to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia policies; it then founded a revolutionary course and opened possibilities for the formation of a joint front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and others living in this environment.

Trifunovic Speaks at Meeting

LD1910055789 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2125 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Pristina, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists and socialist forces must prove that living together in mutual confidence and tolerance is possible in the multi-national province Kosovo—stated today Bogdan Trifunovic, party chief of Yugoslavia's Republic Serbia.

Trifunovic, addressing an electoral session of the party committee of Pristina, the capital city of the province, assessed confidence and equality as prerequisites for transcending the crisis, internationality divisions, and the province's economic and cultural lagging behind.

The major future assignment in Kosovo, said Trifunovic, was an end put to the migrations of Serbs and Montenegrins out of the province, and the generation of conditions for the return of those who had already moved out under pressure by Albanian separatists.

(The moving out of Serbs and Montenegrins is part of the separatist strategy of "cleaning Kosovo ethnically" as the way to secede it from Yugoslavia and merge it with what would be "a greater Albania.")

Trifunovic said that the definitive elimination of separatism—which has over long years entrenched itself in the system's institutions in the province—was the indispensable condition for halting the moving out.

In Trifunovic's assessment, which has been done in Kosovo with respect to the quelling of separatism, but the state of affairs has only begun to change for the better. The situation, he assessed, is very difficult, changes are slow as yet, and resistance or blockades very strong.

Trifunovic called for personnel changes in the economy to be added to the already performed replacements of leaders in political structures in Kosovo which all can have great influence on the settlement of problems in the province. As he evaluated, these structures still have cadres unprepared to build up a policy of national

equality in the multi-national province and secure up-to-date development and business activities in its economy.

Delegates of the conference today elected a new 41-member party committee of Pristina, reelecting Dr Gani Jasari its president.

In Jasari's report just as in six-hour discussion, it was appraised that it was precisely the progressive core of the Pristina party committee that was the first body to rise against the wrong policy of the former provincial party committee whose indecision during the combat against separatism had been the main generator of the crisis in the province.

6 Vojvodina Liberals 'Practically Rehabilitated'

LD1810213189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1736 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Novi Sad, October 18 (TANJUG)—The party leadership of the League of Communists of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, northeastern Yugoslavia, today, at an initiative from its membership, practically rehabilitated its one-time six high-ranking officials who had to step down from the political scene in 1972 charged with being "liberals," and excluded from the party the following year.

For, [as received] the Presidency of the provincial committee of Vojvodina's League of Communists came to the conclusion that there were no "justified reasons" for excluding them, namely Mirko Canadanovic, one-time president and secretary of the provincial committee, then Milos Radojevic, Mirko Tepavac, a member of the party Presidency and former Yugoslav secretary for foreign affairs in the early 70s, Vukasin Keselj, Pal Soti Kwgeza Tikvicki. They are to be returned to the party, as provided for by the statute, by those party cells that had excluded them.

The accusations of the said former six party officials of having, "by way of clannishness and factionalism, taken positions irreconcilable with their party membership," were not founded on objective arguments, it was evaluated.

Some stands taken by the six alleged "liberals," such as those on struggle for unity in the Republic of Serbia (of which the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo were constituent parts) and Yugoslavia and on development while observing economic laws have been socially confirmed, Vojvodina's party leadership pointed out.

This raising the question of rehabilitation is an expression of democratizing relationships in the party and society and of the Yugoslav communist movement's best tradition to give second thoughts to its estimates, particularly so when it comes to mistakes made against men, it was emphasized at today's session.

Vojvodina's party leadership is going to inform the party leaderships of Yugoslavia and Serbia about its political rehabilitation stands.

At the time, Serbia's party leadership also relieved first, and then excluded, its top republic leaders Marko Nikezic and Latinka Perovic accused of being "liberal-minded."

Anti-Serbian Graffiti Appears in Vojvodina

AU1910175989 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 89 p 14

[S. Stojanovic report: "Divisive Graffiti"]

[Excerpt] Bac, 16 Oct—A small Vojvodina commune of Bac, which has something over 18,000 inhabitants of 16 different nationalities, was shocked and disturbed by anti-Serbian and anti-communist graffiti that appeared late on the night of 12 October. This graffiti was similar to that which appeared late on the night of 28 April.

There was much more graffiti on 12 October than last April and its "purpose" was to cause not only political but also interethnic divisions in this commune. Here are some of the slogans: "We are not giving the occupier even a single dinar for the loan"; Sloba [Slobodan Milosevic], murderer"; Death to Sloba, freedom to the people"; "Loan for thieves"; "Communism is dead"; "Long live Stipe Sutar." A swastika was also placed over the Serbian coat of arms.

In contrast to last April, when the graffiti was written with blue spray paint, this was done with black paint. Some of it was several meters long and about a half meter high. We have learned that the officials who are looking for the people responsible for this hostile act, have established that the graffiti was written in the same handwriting. This time there is more hostile graffiti than in April: It appeared on the youth center building, two churches, communal party committee building, a furniture store, and the school. [passage omitted]

Serbian Doctors Protest in Titova Mitrovica

AU1710153989 Pristina RILINDJA
in Albanian 11 Oct 89 p 6

[C.I. I.B. report: "Dissatisfaction With Current Trends"]

[Excerpts] Titova Mitrovica, 10 Oct—At yesterday evening's marathon meeting at the Titova Mitrovica Medical Center, 40 signatories of a petition, mainly Serbian and Montenegrin doctors, and some of their colleagues voiced many issues that concerned them. Dobrosav Radovic, member of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Presidium; and Predrag Trajkovic and Ljubisa Ognjatovic, members of the Serbian LC Central Committee, also attended the meeting, at which speakers tried to call to account high-level leaders in both the commune and the province, who, as they said, had contributed toward the complicated situation in the province.

At the same time, they called for more thorough ideological differentiation, for biddable, careerist, and destructive Serbs and Montenegrins not to be elected to positions of leadership, and for immediate measures to stem emigration. However, they were mostly enraged, they said, by land grants to various Albanian doctors who had been subject to party disciplinary measures following the events of February, when they had cared for the health of striking miners. [passage omitted]

Infuriating Events

Many things happening in Kosovo are infuriating us, the signatories of the petition and other speakers said. There have been many incidents, excesses, and other disturbances caused by Albanian nationalists and separatists. We are protesting over these and other issues, the doctors said. We oppose Serbian careerists who think that the most important issues are solving their own housing problems, driving fancy cars, and spending their lives eating and drinking at parties, while have merely slept through their terms of office and have only woken up at election time. They said that they opposed cadres who behaved like Zajic, Komadinic, Gvozdic, Vukosavljevic, Stiovic, and their kind, who must be ejected from their cozy armchairs. One speaker said that there are good Serbian cadres in Trepca, but they are never given a chance of being elected. Meanwhile, we have such cadres at federal level as Sefcet Jasari, who started the political process of bringing back emigrants, which was considered the big event of the year, but which did not bring back a single individual. He took this step merely to get his job. It was said that people are still elected to positions they do not deserve, and that the opinion of the base is not heeded. People whom the base does not like are still on the lists for membership of committees. Speakers said that we want to elect the most energetic, courageous, and capable cadres. The meeting dwelt at great length on the policy of favoring the majority, nepotism among cadres, and paid special attention to the issue of the Albanians' climbing birthrate. Differentiation is not being properly carried out, and only workers and not leaders have been punished, while differentiation in the workplace has not even begun. Comments were also heard, such as: "We expected that Serbia would bring back emigrants by decree, not that it would take from us cadres and send back workers." It pains us that 10 doctors have left the Medical Center in this commune in the last 15 years. [passage omitted]

Smiljkovic Elected Belgrade Committee President

LD1710204889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—At the first session of the newly elected city committee of the Belgrade League of Communists this evening, Dr Rados Smiljkovic was elected president of the city committee.

Federal Government Plans 'Own' TV Program

*LD1810165289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1156 GMT 18 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, October 18 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government will probably soon have "its own" one-hour television programme, to be broadcast live once a week by all Yugoslav TV centres simultaneously.

Representatives of the centres have upheld a government initiative for launching the programme to keep the public more objectively and correctly informed about the activities of Prime Minister Ante Markovic's Cabinet and other federal bodies.

The government believes that what the Yugoslav public needs now more than ever is a united programme to help people gain a better insight into questions of common interest and be informed of current social developments.

Yugoslavia's information (?space) is undoubtedly partitioned and the government's main objection to the covering of home events by tv stations is that it is locally angled.

In contrast to the majority of programmes in which "everyone turns water to his own mill," the government now proposes a one-hour programme to express the Yugoslav option.

The recent decision by Zagreb television to step out of the prime information programme in Yugoslavia, the joint tv news programme, has helped towards partitioning the country's information space. Under the joint scheme, the Sunday news programme was prepared in turn by each tv centre in the Serbo-Croatian speaking area and broadcast by all simultaneously.